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# SIR HENRY LEE

## *AN ELIZABETHAN PORTRAIT*

BY

E. K. CHAMBERS

OXFORD  
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1936



SIR HENRY LEE

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SIR HENRY LEE  
*Antonius Mor pingebat anno 1568*



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*To*

N. C.



## PREFACE

MUCH of the material for this book was brought together several years ago, in elaboration of the pages devoted to Sir Henry Lee and his dramatic entertainments in *The Elizabethan Stage*. It was laid aside, on learning that the late Viscount Dillon had himself made large collections on the life of his predecessor at Ditchley, and in the hope that he might publish some more complete account of that life than is contained in his writings on Lee's armour and similar topics, and in the paper on *The Real Sir Henry Lee*, contributed to the *Berks, Bucks, and Oxon Archaeological Journal* of 1906, and substantially reproduced in Miss Corbett's *History of Spelsbury* in 1931. That hope was not to be realized, but in revising my work I have had the advantage of consulting Lord Dillon's note-books, together with the family documents long preserved at Ditchley House, and now made available for students by the generosity of the present Viscount at the recently established Record Office in the Oxfordshire County Hall. To him my warm gratitude is due, and also to the County Archivist, Mr. H. M. Walton, who has given me invaluable help in examining the manuscripts.

Many letters from Sir Henry Lee are in existence, but, even apart from the difficulty caused by what he justifiably called his 'scribbled fist', they are hardly of sufficient importance to warrant publication in full. I have included some samples, and for the rest contented myself with noting the substance, either from the originals or from abstracts in the *Calendar of Hatfield Manuscripts* and elsewhere. For those of a few Hatfield letters not yet calendared, I have to thank the kindness of the Marquess of Salisbury and his librarian, Mr. J. V. Lyle. I am also indebted to Mr. G. T. Butler, Windsor Herald, for access to the Talbot Papers at the College of Arms, and for



various assistance to Dr. R. E. W. Flower, Mr. H. J. M. Milne and Mr. A. J. Collins of the British Museum, Dr. J. Q. Adams and Dr. Dawson of the Folger Shakespeare Library, Miss Elsie Corbett, Dr. Mark Eccles, Mr. Edwin Hollis, Mr. Bower Marsh, and Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach.

E. K. C.

EYNSHAM, *August 1936.*





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## NOTE ON REFERENCES

I have attempted to keep the footnotes as short as possible. The following are the chief abbreviations used:

*Dasent.* Acts of the Privy Council of England.

*H.* Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Marquess of Salisbury at Hatfield (*H.M.C.*).

*H.M.C.* Reports of the Historical Manuscripts Commission.

*L.I.* Lists and Indexes (*Public Record Office*).

*L.P.* Calendar of the Letters and Papers of the Reign of Henry VIII.

*Sc. P.* Calendar of State Papers Relating to Scotland and Mary Queen of Scots.

*Sp. P.* Calendar of State Papers Relating to Negotiations between England and Spain.

*S.P.D.* Calendar of State Papers: Domestic Series.

*S.P.F.* Calendar of State Papers: Foreign Series.

*S.P.I.* Calendar of State Papers Relating to Ireland.

*V.H.* The Victoria History of the Counties of England.

Citations are generally by volumes and pages of the printed Calendars, but for *S.P.D.*, and for *S.P.I.* to the end of Elizabeth's reign, from the volumes and items of the MSS.

The Ditchley papers are not yet arranged and numbered. I cite as *Dillon* the paper on *The Real Sir Henry Lee*, as *Ditchley MSS.* those originals which I have found, and as *Dillon Notes*, *G.* and *W.*, two volumes bound in green and white respectively, which contain information from other originals, and sometimes extracts from State Papers supplementing the Calendars.



# I

## THE LEES OF QUARRENDON

OF all the revolutions, after the Conquest itself, in English history, perhaps the most far-reaching in its social effects was that which began on 22 August 1485, when the crown picked up from a thorn-bush in Bosworth Field was placed on the head of Henry the Seventh. The event seemed to be no more than another turn of Fortune's wheel in the long dynastic conflict of the Roses; it proved in the outcome to have clanged a door upon the Middle Ages. For the first time since the reign of Edward the First, England had found a king with at once the power and the will to exercise the art of kingship. Edward the Third and Henry the Fifth may have had the power, but they dissipated it in pursuit of the fantastic mirage of foreign domination. Edward the Fourth and Richard the Third may have had the will, but they remained entangled in the meshes of anarchic forces which they had evoked and could not subdue. Henry was more fortunate in that the feudal nobility, brought almost to the point of extinction through internecine warfare, was no longer in a position to resist the curbing of its individualist tendencies by the laws against livery and maintenance. But this would have availed him little had he not himself possessed the qualities of a statesman, the clear vision of what goes to the making of a great people, the remorseless patience needed to establish and maintain the ideals of public order and financial economy, of peace and sea-power and regulated commerce. Much of the tradition of the first Tudor passed to his successors. Both Henry the Eighth and Elizabeth, for all their failings, inherited the administrative sense. They could make a wise choice of instruments, a Wolsey, a Cromwell, a Cecil, from the trained





middle classes; and the sixteenth century became for England an age of reconstruction, in which a growing consciousness of national unity prevailed even against the disruptive influences of religious controversy.

It is inevitable that formal history should for the most part occupy itself with the activities of kings and ministers. Biography may complete the picture of an age, by its illumination of the lives of lesser men, who are themselves largely the product of the social forces at play, but reveal these from another angle, and by their reactions help to determine the resultant issue. The sixteenth century is noteworthy, among other things, for the rise of new families. They acquire wealth through the partition of monastic estates, through commercial adventure, through the conversion of arable land to pasture, which subserved the interests of commerce, although it created a social problem of its own. They arrive at dignity by personal service to the crown. They learn the art of administration itself in the exercise of the duties of local government, which was an essential feature of the Tudor polity. Ultimately they form a new aristocracy of country gentlemen, able to take over in their turn the control of the national destinies, when these slipped from the incompetent hands of the Stuarts. Such a family was that of the Lees of Quarrendon in Buckinghamshire, whose leading representative will be the chief subject of this chronicle. Sir Henry Lee was not one of the great men of those spacious times during which, as his earliest biographer has it, he 'served five succeeding Princes and kept himself right and steady in many dangerous shocks and three utter turns of state'.<sup>1</sup> But he was for long a conspicuous figure on the spectacular side of court life, and in following the ramifications of his kindred we shall touch the complex structure of Elizabethan society at many points, coming now upon an ambassador to the Emperor of Muscovy, now an

<sup>1</sup> App. G.





Anglo-Irish ruffian who died the death of a traitor, now a spy who developed into a hard-working official, now a Jesuit priest, now the maker of a dictionary, and finally a wicked judge whose unquiet spirit haunts the villages of Oxfordshire to this day.

Quarrendon is at present little more than a stretch of pasture in the rich vale which borders upon Aylesbury. In the thirteenth century it had been a place of some importance as the head of the honour of the Fitz John family, and when the widow of the last Fitz John died in 1332 it passed through an heiress to the Beauchamps, Earls of Warwick. They, too, ended in an heiress, Anne Beauchamp, who married Richard Neville, the King-maker, for whom the title of Earl of Warwick was revived. When Warwick fell at Barnet in 1471, his widow's rights were disregarded, and the Beauchamp estates were taken by George Duke of Clarence, the brother of Edward the Fourth, and on his attainder in 1478 by the crown. They were restored to the Countess of Warwick by Act of Parliament in 1487, and she conveyed them to Henry the Seventh for her life, with a reversion to Clarence's son, Edward Earl of Warwick. On his attainder in 1499 they once more escheated to the crown.<sup>1</sup> A number of rent rolls and court rolls of Quarrendon are among the Ditchley MSS., and were used by John Jordan in 1857 for a rather fanciful account of the Lees in his *History of Enstone*. Here it is that we first find the family in the person of one Benedict Lee, a freeholder on the manor. In 1438, and again in 1442, he was collector of rents for the lord. In 1438 and 1440 he was presented at the manor court for the offence of blocking up a common way at Hanysffeld. In 1440 he surrendered to the lord a copyhold tenement, formerly occupied by John King. In 1449 we know from another source that he purchased a toft called Pulcroft from Richard and

<sup>1</sup> *V. H. Bucks.* iv. 100, 348; W. Campbell, *Materials for the Reign of Hen. VII* (R.S.), ii. 211; 2 *Gen.* xii. 187.



Eleanor Verney.<sup>1</sup> In 1472 he accounted for a heifer, which was the lord's stray, as 'firmare' or holder under a lease of the lord's demesne lands and possibly also the other manorial rights. Evidently he had long been a leading man in Quarrendon. In 1441 he had become constable of the township in succession to Richard Clerk. We do not know how long he held this office, as many court rolls are missing. But later he was replaced by other Lees, all probably his sons; Robert in 1472, Edward, apparently with Richard as assistant, from 1484 to 1487, and then Richard continuously from 1487 to 1497. One might suppose the Lees to have had their origin in Quarrendon itself. The name, variously spelt Lee, Lea, Legh, Leigh, Lye, and occasionally appearing as 'a Lee', is clearly one of those derived from a place of habitation. Lee (*OE. lēah*) probably once signified woodland, then a wood-clearing, and then a bit of open land in general. It is common in place-names, both in the suffix -ley and as an independent Lee or Leigh. Hence the personal name 'atte Lee', 'a Lee', and finally Lee. There was in fact such a place-name in Quarrendon manor itself. The rolls show La Lee as a parcel in 1411 and 1432 and families of Yongh de Leya in 1399 and Baron de la Lee in 1411, before Benedict Lee makes his appearance. On the other hand, the Lees themselves claimed, probably at the beginning of the sixteenth century and certainly towards its close, to be a cadet branch of an old knightly family, long settled at Wybunbury in Cheshire. This also is a possibility. They may have drifted down through Staffordshire, and have been comparatively late comers to Quarrendon.<sup>2</sup> Benedict himself, from an early date in his career, had interests in Warwickshire, as well as in Buckinghamshire. He is described as 'of Warwick' in his purchase of 1449. His will suggests that his parents were buried at Sutton.<sup>3</sup> There

<sup>1</sup> Lipscomb, ii. 401, from *Fine Roll* (28 Hen. VI).

<sup>2</sup> App. A.

<sup>3</sup> App. B.





are many Suttons, more than one in Warwickshire itself, but that in question is likely to be Sutton Coldfield, near the Staffordshire border, where his descendants had some property.<sup>1</sup> In 1450 Benedict Lee of Warwick and his wife Elizabeth joined the Gild of Holy Cross at Stratford-on-Avon, and in 1464 that of St. Anne at Knowle, farther to the north.<sup>2</sup> Pedigrees make Elizabeth the daughter and sometimes the heiress of John Wood of Warwickshire. The name, like that of Lee itself, is not uncommon in the county. A William atte Wood is on the subsidy roll for Sutton Coldfield in 1332.<sup>3</sup> Benedict, however, sat for the borough of Warwick in the Yorkist Parliament of May 1467.<sup>4</sup> And at Warwick, as well as at Quarrendon, he left property when he died in September 1476. His will is a long and interesting one, with many pious legacies, and injunctions of family concord to his sons.<sup>5</sup> To his wife he leaves 400 marks, his domestic furniture, and a life interest in Coton, which is Coton End in Warwick; to his son Edward his place in Merston, with a remainder to Richard; to Richard his place in Quarrendon; to John a place in Walton called Bevers next Aylesbury, with remainders successively to Roger, Edward, and Richard; to Roger 'Benettes place' in Warwick and the reversion of Coton. Here are four sons, but the will speaks of five. The Robert of the Quarrendon rolls, if he, as is probable, is a son of Benedict, may have been already dead. Possibly he was the Leigh of Buckinghamshire, said to have been a Robert, whose daughter Joyce was the wife of Edward Griffin of Berkswell in Warwickshire about 1500.<sup>6</sup> The unnamed son of the will may be a younger Bennet Lee of Warwick, who was feoffee for a member of the Lucy family of Charlecote in 1486.<sup>7</sup> There are two daughters in the will, Elizabeth,

<sup>1</sup> *Early Chancery Proceedings*, C. 1, 847 (7).

<sup>2</sup> J. H. Bloom, *G. of Stratford*, 115; W. B. Bickley, *G. of Knowle*, 54.

<sup>3</sup> *Dugdale Soc.* vi. 67.

<sup>4</sup> *Official Return of M.P.s* (1878).

<sup>5</sup> App. B.

<sup>6</sup> App. A.

<sup>7</sup> *Cal. I.P.M.* (Hen. VII), i. 359.





then unmarried, and Anne. Elizabeth Greswold made a payment to the Gild of Knowle for the souls of Benedict and Elizabeth Lee in 1500.<sup>1</sup> She is probably the Elizabeth who appears, without a father's name, as the wife of John Greswold of Longdon Hall, Warwickshire.<sup>2</sup> Anne married James Starkey who preferred an amusing petition to Chancery, at some date in 1493-1500, against Richard Lee for a covered cup of silver and parcel gilt, which her mother had promised him towards her portion, but had never given. Starkey called for delivery from Richard, as administrator of his mother's goods, which were worth £500.<sup>3</sup> Elizabeth Lee was a hard-fisted old lady, I am afraid. She had already been sued in Chancery during her lifetime by Philip Nele for £15 as the price of 150 wethers delivered to her husband and still unpaid for.<sup>4</sup> Yet another petition, of 1502 or 1503, tells us that she lived after Benedict's death, with her son Edward, in the house of John and Agnes Latham. She left a hundred acres near Aylesbury to her grandson, a third Benedict, the son of Richard. But the evidences had come into the hands of John Lee and John and Agnes Clarell, who refused to deliver them. Presumably Agnes Latham had remarried with John Clarell. The Lathams replied that the land was left in trust for them and not for Benedict, and also that the evidences were claimed by Robert Lee.<sup>5</sup> We do not know the results of those suits. But it is clear that Elizabeth's death preceded that of her son Richard, which took place late in 1499 or early in 1500.

Edward Lee seems to have married Anne Stretley, one of three coheiresses who in 1482 conveyed to the crown the manor of Creslow in Buckinghamshire.<sup>6</sup> He must have died without direct heirs, since the place in Merston was held by Richard's descendants, and pro-

<sup>1</sup> Bickley, 131.

<sup>3</sup> *Early Chanc. Proc.* C. 1. 226 (21).

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* C. 1. 266 (134).

<sup>2</sup> *Harl. Soc.* xii. 61.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* C. 1. 32 (366).

<sup>6</sup> *V.H. Bucks.* iii. 337, cf. p. 7.



bably came to him under the remainder clause in Benedict's will. It is Little or Wretched Marston, which belonged to the Quarrendon manor, but lay partly in the township of Quarrendon and partly in that of the neighbouring Fleetmarston. Benedict's son Roger may also have been heirless, for the Warwick property seems to have passed to John of Walton, who made his will in 1534. There is some confusion in the pedigrees, but John's line is apparently represented by Lees of Beaconsfield in Buckinghamshire and Binfield in Berkshire.<sup>1</sup>

The main Quarrendon line is continued by Richard. It must be to him that Leland refers in a fragmentary note, which runs<sup>2</sup>—

Bur(s)ton a mile from Aeilesbery. Syr Antony . . . father attaynted for comynge withe Kynge Richard to Bosworthe Field; his sonne after restoryd to his lands.

This cannot be strictly correct. No Lee appears among the names of the very few gentlemen attainted at the beginning of Henry VII's reign.<sup>3</sup> But Richard had been a Yeoman of the Crown to the Yorkist king, who had given him the custody of the manors of Creslow and Wing. These he lost early in the new reign.<sup>4</sup> That he made his peace later is clear from Henry's Privy Purse accounts, which show him staying at Lee's house on journeys from and to Windsor in 1493.<sup>5</sup> Richard married Joan, the daughter of William Saunders of Banbury by Jane or Joan the daughter of Sir John Spencer of Hodnell in Warwickshire.<sup>6</sup> On 20 November 1499 he made his will, leaving all his lands to his widow for life, with remainders, as regards property in Aylesbury cum Walton, to his son Roger, and as regards the rest, successively to his sons Robert, Roger, and Henry, or if Henry should become a priest, Benedict. There are also 600 sheep for Robert,

<sup>1</sup> App. A.

<sup>2</sup> *Itinerary*, v. 233.

<sup>3</sup> A. F. Pollard, *Henry VII*, i. 32.

<sup>4</sup> *Cal. P. Rolls* (1476-85), 445, 499; *ibid.* (Hen. VII), i. 54; Campbell, *Materials for the Reign of Hen. VII*, i. 47.

<sup>5</sup> S. Bentley, *Excerpta Historica*, 94-5.

<sup>6</sup> App. A.





and 50 marks each for Henry and Roger. Benedict, we have seen, was his grandmother's heir. It is noted that Robert already has a third part of the lord's farm in Quarrendon.<sup>1</sup> Of this a new lease for fifty years at a rent of £50 had just been granted to Richard, Joan, and Robert; it in fact only passed the Great Seal on 7 December 1499.<sup>2</sup> Presumably the earlier lease to Benedict had expired. Richard must have died before 3 February 1500, when his 'heirs' were among the freeholders of the principal manor of Aylesbury, then belonging to the family of Baldwin.<sup>3</sup> This is distinct both from Aylesbury cum Walton, a manor belonging to the prebend of Aylesbury in Lincoln Cathedral, in which also Richard had an interest, and from the manor of Walton itself, in which his father had one. The will names two daughters, Elizabeth Greenway whose husband was Thomas Greenway of Dinton, Buckinghamshire, and an unmarried Katharine.

Joan, the widow and heiress of Richard, had remarried with one John Clerk by 1502 or 1503, when the pair were sued in Chancery by Richard's brother John for the evidences of property in Walton.<sup>4</sup> The answer was, as in an analogous case already cited, that Robert Lee claimed the evidences, and should be called upon to interplead, and again we do not know the result. John Clerk was a younger son belonging to a family long settled at Willoughby in Warwickshire on a manor leased from Magdalen College, Oxford.<sup>5</sup> But, like the Lees themselves, they apparently combined interests in Warwickshire with others in Bucks. Richard Clerk, who held Willoughby about 1444, may very well be the same Richard Clerk whom Benedict Lee succeeded as constable of Quarrendon in 1441. A Sir Thomas Clerk, vicar of Stone in Bucks, was a witness to Richard Lee's will,

<sup>1</sup> 2 *Gen.* viii. 227.

<sup>3</sup> *Archaeologia*, 1 (1) 81.

<sup>5</sup> Dugdale, *Warwickshire*, 189.

<sup>2</sup> *Cal. P. Rolls* (Hen. VII), ii. 193.

<sup>4</sup> *Early Chanc. Proc.* C. 1. 266 (15, 16).



and trustee for its uses. John and Joan Clerk, as executors of the will, were pardoned for waste in the woods of Balinger and Earl Aston, belonging to the Quarrendon manor, on 9 February 1504. Here John is described as Gentleman Usher of the Chamber.<sup>1</sup> In the same year John Clerk and Robert Lee became joint constables of Quarrendon. On 27 April 1512 a belated inquisition was taken of the estates of Edward Earl of Warwick, as a preliminary to the restitution of the greater part of them to his sister Margaret Pole, Countess of Salisbury; and this, with the help of another inquisition taken in 1540 after Robert Lee's death, enables us to determine very precisely the nature of Benedict Lee's original holding in Quarrendon.<sup>2</sup> The Countess of Warwick had been seised of this manor, with fields called Netherupping feld, Overupping feld, Beryfeld, Byllyngfeld, formerly called Brokend, and Little Merston, and with woods of Bernewode, formerly Erleswode, and Balynger, and various parcels, appurtenances, and views of frankpledge for tenants in Quarrendon itself, in the woods, and in the outlying localities of Bierton, Addington, Estaston, Claydon, Waldridge in Dinton, and Seabrook in Ivinghoe, all of which stand in a ring round Aylesbury. Most of these names appear in the earlier Quarrendon rolls, together with others, since the attachment of distant parcels to a manor varied from time to time, as these were bought and sold. Upping was once Upende, corresponding to Brokend; Uppings and Berryfield are still names of farms in Quarrendon. The woods were doubtless fragments of the old royal forest of Bernwood. Balinger is now a common in Great Missenden; Erleswode, the Earl Aston of the pardon, was probably in Ivinghoe Aston, which may also be Estaston. Most of the land in Quarrendon itself seems to have been either demesne of the manor or cultivated as arable by copyhold tenants. But the inquisition specifies three freehold parcels. One

<sup>1</sup> *Cal. P. Rolls* (Hen. VII), ii. 357.

<sup>2</sup> *2 Gen.* xii. 187-8.





consisted of a messuage, called in Robert's inquisition Ravening's Place, with a garden and a curtilage called Woodyard Abbuts, enclosed by a moat, and a two-acre toft or close, variously called Pondecroft and Pulcroft; the second of a forty-acre virgate in Overupping and Netherupping, with a close called Agnesfield or Hannesfield, south of a close called the Pyghell, and an eight-acre meadow called the Neate; the third of two messuages, one called Hannys in Robert's inquisition, with two virgates of pasture and a virgate and six acres of meadowland. The first two were in Quarrendon proper and had once belonged to Richard Verney; the third, in Little Marston, to John Kynston. Now, in 1512, they were held by John Clerk in right of his wife Joan, with remainder to the trustees for Richard Lee's will, at quit-rents to the crown of 10s., 6s., and 26s. 8d. respectively, together with suit of court. The Quarrendon holdings were valued, as one, at £6 a year; that in Little Marston at £5. These are clearly the 'places' in Quarrendon and Marston left by Benedict Lee. Agnesfield is the Hanysfield, where he stopped a right of way. Pulcroft was the purchase from Richard and Eleanor Verney of 1449. Quarrendon manor was not included in the estates restored to the Countess of Salisbury, but became the property of the family who had long been its farmers by a grant in socage at a rent of £50 to Robert Lee on 25 June 1512.<sup>1</sup> The freeholds, too, came to him by his mother's death on 19 October 1516.<sup>2</sup> Her gravestone at Quarrendon, no longer preserved, bore a coat in which the arms of Clerk impaled those of Lee. Those of Clerk include an augmentation granted him, with a royal gift of £500, for his capture of the Duke of Longueville at the Battle of Spurs on 16 August 1513.<sup>3</sup> He was knighted by 1522, acquired various properties in Northants,

<sup>1</sup> *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, i (1), 582.

<sup>2</sup> App. G.

<sup>3</sup> *L.P.* ii (2), 1465; J. Guillim, *Display of Heraldry* (1610), 260; W. Camden, *Remains* (1623), 165.



and served as sheriff there in 1522, 1529, and 1535. Probably he also leased the manor of North Weston at Thame in Oxfordshire, where a brass records his death on 5 April 1539. It was certainly held by his son Nicholas. His will mentions a wife Agnes and a late wife Elizabeth, but says nothing of Joan Lee. We do not know whether she was the mother of Nicholas. He was old enough to be a feoffee for lands in 1529, but feoffees were often very young.<sup>1</sup>

Robert Lee must be regarded as the chief architect of the fortunes of his family. It was possibly to his stepfather that he owed an introduction at court. Here he was a Yeoman Usher to Princess Mary by 1508 and a Gentleman Usher of the Chamber by 1512.<sup>2</sup> He, too, was knighted by 1522, and appears with Clerk in a list of the Knights for the Body which may be of about that date.<sup>3</sup> Probably they did military service in France together during 1523.<sup>4</sup> Robert was sheriff for Bucks and Beds in 1522 and 1533, and often appears in state papers, as exercising one or other of the multifarious duties which fell to the lot of a leading justice of the peace.<sup>5</sup> To Quarrendon he added other properties in the same neighbourhood. Of these the most important were the manors of Fleetmarston, Hardwick, Wedon, and Burston. Fleetmarston borders on Quarrendon to the southwest. Here were two manors. One belonged to the Verneys; the other, which included land at Blackgrove in Waddesdon to the north, had passed in moieties through heiresses from the Neyruts to the Harveys and the Hartishornes, and from the latter successively to the Colts and the Heighams. Lee took a lease from Sir George Harvey in 1503, and others from the Verneys and

<sup>1</sup> *L.I.* ix. 93; *L.P.* iii (2), 1370; J. Bridges, *Northants.* i. 317, 504, 588; ii. 18; F. G. Lee, *Thame*, 95, 306, 308, 310, 322; 2 *Gen.* ix. 23; N. H. Nicolas, *Testamenta Vetusta*, 631.

<sup>2</sup> *Chronicle of Calais*, 64; *L.P.* i (1), 582.

<sup>3</sup> *L.P.* ii (1), 872 (misdated, cf. *Eliz. Stage*, i. 43).

<sup>4</sup> *L.P.* iii (2), 1370.

<sup>5</sup> *L.I.* ix. 3; *L.P.* *passim*.





the Colts by 1511. In 1513 he bought the Harvey sub-moiety from Sir George.<sup>1</sup> In the township of Hardwick to the north-east of Quarrendon there were three manors. That called Russells or Wedon belonged to New College, Oxford. That also called Wedon, where Robert already had some land bought by his grandfather with Pulcroft and treated as a parcel of Quarrendon, he acquired from Andrew Hillesden in 1515, and that of Hardwick itself from Margaret, widow of Sir Thomas Bryan, in 1523.<sup>2</sup> Burston, in Abbots Aston, is to the north of Hardwick. Lee bought it in two moieties from Thomas Cartwright and William Fetiplace in 1516, subject to a lease for life to John Lambourne. Cartwright had acquired his moiety, which included the manor house, from the Swafelds.<sup>3</sup>

If Robert Lee attained to dignity by service at court, it was probably through the less exalted industry of sheep-farming that he amassed wealth. This was a notable feature of rural economy in Tudor times. An export trade in wool, which had grown up in the fifteenth century, had been followed by the establishment of cloth manufacture in England itself. On the other hand, the export of corn was restricted, and a fall in the value of money, due in part to the discovery of silver in America, and in part to the debasement of the coinage, had not been met by any compensating increase in the rents of copyhold tenants, settled in the past by way of commutation for agricultural services, and now established by custom. From the point of view of the lord of a manor, the production of wool became a far more profitable thing than the production of grain. But the allocation of large tracts of land for sheep pasture was capable of

<sup>1</sup> J. Bruce, *Verney Papers*, 50; *V.H. Bucks.* iv. 74, 112; I. S. Leadam, *Domesday of Inclosures*, i. 170; *Bodl. MS. Top. Bucks.* b. 4, f. 4; *Dillon Notes*, G. 86, W. 12; 2 *Gen.* xii. 188 (i.p.m.).

<sup>2</sup> *V.H. Bucks.* iii. 364; *Dillon Notes*, G. 1; W. 12; 2 *Gen.* xii. 188.

<sup>3</sup> *V.H. Bucks.* iii. 328; Leadam, i. 161; *Dillon Notes*, W. 12, 16; 2 *Gen.* xii. 188.





raising serious economic and social problems, if it came into conflict with the traditional methods of arable cultivation. This was still the communal affair of tenants whose holdings were distributed in acre or half-acre strips over the open fields of a township, and whose plough-beasts and milch kine were largely dependent for their grazing upon the untilled waste lands of the manor. The lord's own arable demesne might also lie in strips intermixed with those of the tenants, or perhaps more often, by the sixteenth century at least, in separate fields. In either case it gave paid employment to cottagers and younger sons. The provision for pasture, when it became profitable, might take various forms. If the demesne arable was separate, it could be laid down to grass, and then the labourers were sent adrift, since one shepherd could replace a number of ploughmen. The manorial waste, or part of it, might be enclosed, and although this was often abundant, any undue restriction of grazing for the tenants would become a grievance. It is clear, however, that some lords went farther, and broke into the communal organization by the acquisition and enclosing of adjacent strips in the open fields themselves. And no doubt their methods were often high-handed, and paid little regard to traditional usage. Freehold tenants were fairly secure since they had the protection of the royal courts. Copyhold tenants might be, if they held by inheritance, and could persuade the courts that an established custom of the manor was infringed. But proof of this was often difficult, or litigation beyond the means of poor men. Moreover, many copyholds were not of inheritance, but in theory at least at the will of the lord, and it was open to him, when a vacancy occurred by death or surrender, to refuse the admission normally granted to the son or nominee of the last tenant, or to impose a prohibitory fine. And if, as was often the case, an old copyhold tenure had been replaced by a lease for lives or for years, his course was easier still. When the



land was taken, the house to which it was attached was often pulled down, and a dispossessed family went to swell the tide of unemployment and vagrancy which ultimately led to the Elizabethan poor laws. If the process was ruthlessly carried out, a whole manor might become, in the phrase of the day, depopulated. The actual extent of the evil has often been exaggerated, and such statistics as are available suggest that, even in Bucks and other midland counties, where it was at its maximum, only a small minority of manors were seriously affected. But the abuses of enclosure became at an early date a preoccupation of Tudor statesmen. A statute of 1515, directing the restoration to tillage of arable enclosed since 1485, proved a dead letter, and in 1517 Wolsey set up a commission of inquiry. And in the reports of this commission we twice find the name of Robert Lee. His manor of Burston had belonged in 1489 to John Swafeld, who had already, before Lee's time, converted 400 acres of immemorial arable into sheep pasture, and laid low and ruined four out of seven messuages. In Fleetmarston, on the other hand, Lee had himself been an active encloser. Here Sir Ralph Verney, Lee, and John Colt had held between them four messuages and 120 acres of arable. In 1511 Lee leased the shares of Verney and Colt, and the three hedged in the land for pasture, putting down four ploughs and leaving twenty persons idle. Within ten years there had been eight ploughs and fifty persons well occupied. Now there was only one manor-house and five cottages for five shepherds, and all the rest was brought to decay.<sup>1</sup> It is probable that Quarrendon itself was also largely turned into a sheep-farm, although there may have been no interference at this stage with the copyholders. Wolsey's action against enclosures was not destined to remain effective. His own attention was claimed by other matters, and the process continued, in spite of proclamations and of new statutes, the last of

<sup>1</sup> Leadam, i. 161, 170.





which in 1534 attempted to put a limit of 2,000 on the sheep to be maintained by any one farmer.<sup>1</sup> But it proved easier to make a statute than to secure machinery for its observance. Local government through county gentlemen, for all its advantages, is not at its strongest where the interests of their class are directly concerned. On the fall of Wolsey the anti-enclosure policy received no support from Sir Thomas More as Chancellor, in spite of his Utopian views.<sup>2</sup> It was revived by Protector Somerset in 1548, but when he in turn fell the capitalists once more got the upper hand, and the grievance smouldered, with occasional outbreaks, during the rest of the century.<sup>3</sup>

A licence to export wool to Calais was granted to Sir Robert Lee, with his brothers Benedict and Roger, in 1533.<sup>4</sup> There can be little doubt that the new economy was put into practice at Quarrendon, as well as at Fleetmarston and Burston. Here Robert had begun life with a flock of 600 sheep. Some of the old open fields appear to have still been in existence in 1512, although the name Hanysffeld and the blocking of a common way there in 1438 suggest early enclosure. A 'hain' is a hedge. On the original Lee freehold there was a good deal of pasture, but also some arable. We do not know what other tenants there were. The inquisition of 1540 shows a considerable change.<sup>5</sup> Robert has still the ancestral property. He has acquired another freehold called Stephens, consisting of a messuage and thirty-seven acres. He has also a second virgate and fifteen acres of arable. He has 960 more acres of pasture. He has fifteen tofts. He has the 'residue' of the manor, to an extent not specified. The great stretch of pasture clearly points to sheep-farming. And this had probably involved the dispossession of copyholders, since 'toft' very commonly has the sense of a small close, where a house has once stood. Later we shall find that the Beryfeld of 1512, which must

<sup>1</sup> 25 *Hen. VIII*, c. 13.

<sup>2</sup> A. F. Pollard, *Wolsey*, 86.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. pp. 59, 165.

<sup>4</sup> *L.P. Addenda*, i (1), 321.

<sup>5</sup> 2 *Gen.* xii. 188.





have once been arable, has given its name to a pasture of 400 acres, and that the Overupping field of 1512 has also become pasture.<sup>1</sup>

Sir Robert Lee had two wives. Of the first we only know with certainty that she was a Cope. Probably she was a connexion of Lee through his Spencer grandmother, who after the death of her Saunders husband married William Cope of Banbury and Hanwell, the Cofferer of the Household to Henry VII.<sup>2</sup> She was dead by 12 July 1521, when Lee made a settlement of Burston on his second marriage with Lettice, daughter of Sir Thomas Peniston of Hawridge, Bucks.<sup>3</sup> At Burston he began a rebuilding of the manor-house, which was completed by his son, and at Lettice's request he obtained a licence to make a park, from which, or from elsewhere, we find him sending presents of hounds and cheeses to the court and to the powerful minister, Thomas Cromwell.<sup>4</sup> It was perhaps not altogether a disinterested courtesy which led him to make Cromwell 'master of his game' at Burston.<sup>5</sup> Lettice had been brought up in the household of Sir Francis Bryan's mother.<sup>6</sup> When she married Lee she was the widow of Robert Knollys, his fellow as a Gentleman Usher of the Chamber, with whom she had the manor of Rotherfield Greys in Oxfordshire under a joint grant from the crown.<sup>7</sup> Thereafter Lee appears as a justice of the peace for Oxfordshire, as well as for Bucks, and it was from Rotherfield, no doubt, that he made cheer to Cromwell's son Gregory on a visit to Rycote in 1535.<sup>8</sup> Rotherfield was another sheep-farming estate, and with Lettice came to Lee the wool of 1,000 sheep, representing the shearing of two years, and valued at £100.<sup>9</sup> Through the marriage the Lees

<sup>1</sup> Cf. pp. 38, 216, 218.

<sup>2</sup> App. A.

<sup>3</sup> 2 *Gen.* xii. 188; *Harl. Soc.* v. 153.

<sup>4</sup> *L.P.* v. 759; xiv (2), 331; N. H. Nicolas, *Privy Purse Expenses of Hen. VIII*, 70, 80, 154, 237, 242.

<sup>5</sup> *L.P.* xiv (1), 148.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>7</sup> *L.P.* iv. 231.

<sup>8</sup> *L.P.* ix. 137.

<sup>9</sup> *L.P.* xiv (2), 371.



acquired many influential connexions. Robert's son, Sir Francis Knollys, married Katharine Carey, daughter of Mary Boleyn and first cousin of Queen Elizabeth, and became Vice-Chamberlain, Treasurer of the Chamber, and Treasurer of the Household. His daughter, a second Lettice Knollys, married firstly Walter Devereux, Earl of Essex, and secondly Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester. His brother-in-law Henry Carey, Lord Hunsdon, and the latter's son George Lord Hunsdon became in turn Lords Chamberlain of the Household.

Sir Robert Lee died on 23 February 1539, leaving directions for a tomb in St. Katharine's aisle of Aylesbury Church, which does not now exist. His manors passed to his eldest son Anthony, subject to the widow's life-interest in Burston as her jointure. To her also there were legacies of money and chattels, including fifty score sheep at Rotherfield and twenty score at Burston.<sup>1</sup> On 28 February she wrote to Cromwell, asking his help for one who will live a sorrowful widow, begging him to continue his sporting rights in Burston Park and sending him £10 to buy an ambling nag. Sir Francis Bryan also wrote on the same day in her behalf. 'Anthony Lee', he says, 'hath used her very honestly.'<sup>2</sup> But later in the year friction arose between the heir and the widow. There were cross-suits in Chancery, calling for the discovery of deeds, and in Lettice's case complaining of the detention of her lands and legacies.<sup>3</sup> Cromwell was asked to arbitrate, and made a draft award which Lettice criticized. It required her to prepare an inventory, any error in which would forfeit her bond to Anthony. And it entailed a delay in the payment of her legacies, which would hamper her sheep-farming at Rotherfield. Here she ought to have the lambs of the sheep left to her, for

<sup>1</sup> 2 *Gen.* viii. 228 (will), xii. 188 (i.p.m.).

<sup>2</sup> *L.P.* xiv (1), 148: M. A. E. Wood, *Letters of Royal and Illustrious Ladies*, iii. 157.

<sup>3</sup> *Early Chanc. Proc. C.* 1. 847 (7); 1024 (17, 18).







the ewes had all perished since her husband's death. She sends Cromwell 'a poor token'. Another letter reports an offer made by Anthony through Bryan. Sooner than accept it, she would pay Anthony a hundred marks a year during the lifetime of Joan Daunce. This lady was probably a relative of Sir John Daunce, who had estates in Bucks, but how she came into the Lee affairs I do not know. Ultimately a compromise was arrived at. Lettice appears to have surrendered Burston to Anthony, and received a release from him.<sup>1</sup> She did not remain for ever a sorrowful widow, but took as a third husband Sir Thomas Tresham of Rushton, Northants, who after her death in 1557 became Prior of the restored Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem. His grandson, Francis Tresham, figured in the Gunpowder Plot.

With the help of Sir Robert's will and one made by Lettice in 1557, we can disentangle the two families.<sup>2</sup> By his first wife he had, besides Anthony, a son Francis and a daughter Jane, said to have married a William Symonds of Cornwall, who has not been quite satisfactorily identified.<sup>3</sup> Lettice gave him a son Benedict, and two daughters, Elizabeth and Margaret. Francis, at the time of his father's death, was hoping for marriage with Joan, daughter of John Tylney, of Leckhampstead, Bucks, but a precontract had been claimed by Richard Greenway of Dinton, Bucks, and, as the event proved, with success. His life is rather obscure. He gave a receipt at Fleetmarston in 1560, and is probably the Francis Lee who obtained a post as gunner (*vibrellator*) at the Tower in 1567.<sup>4</sup> Benedict, to whom his father left the lease of a pasture at Brogborough in Richmond, Beds, which he had acquired in 1528, was still under age in 1539. To him we shall return.<sup>5</sup> Elizabeth married

<sup>1</sup> *L.P.* xiv (1), 480; (2) 371; *Addenda*, i (2), 491; *Dillon Notes*, W. 16.

<sup>2</sup> *2 Gen.* viii. 229 (misdated 1547).

<sup>3</sup> *Her. and Gen.* iii. 286; J. L. Vivian, *Vis. of Cornwall*, 614; *2 Gen.* ix. 23.

<sup>4</sup> *Verney Papers*, 45; *Dillon Notes*, W. 29, 171. <sup>5</sup> *L.P.* iv (2), 1824.



first William Tresham, her stepfather's son by an earlier marriage, and secondly Walter Vachell of Coley, Berks.<sup>1</sup> Margaret married a Lane, probably Thomas Lane of Matson, Gloucestershire.<sup>2</sup>

Anthony Lee first appears in boyhood as a feoffee of the estate of Cecily, Marchioness of Dorset in 1528.<sup>3</sup> Later he followed his father's footsteps on the track of court favour. He may be a Lee who appears without a first name as a Gentleman Usher of the Chamber in 1532-4; he is certainly described as 'the King's servant' in 1542.<sup>4</sup> Before 1532 he had a lodging in Pete Caley's, Westminster, a tenement of the Abbot of Westminster, which was then sold to the King.<sup>5</sup> About 6 July in the same year, being then aged about 20, he married Margaret, daughter of Sir Henry Wyatt of Allington Castle in Kent, a trusted privy councillor both to Henry VII and to Henry VIII, in whose household he became Treasurer of the Chamber. The manors of Hardwick and Wedon, with other lands, were settled by Sir Robert upon Margaret as her jointure.<sup>6</sup> A son Henry was born about March 1533. John Aubrey says that he was 'supposed brother of queen Elizabeth'.<sup>7</sup> That is one of the points upon which we cannot trust Aubrey, whose mind ran readily to scandal, and it is extremely unlikely, since in the summer of 1532 Henry was still in love with Anne Boleyn, who had not yet yielded to him. No doubt he had other mistresses soon after the marriage in 1533, but we do not know that Margaret Lee was one. She may have been one of the ladies appointed to attend upon Anne, when she went to the Tower in 1536. A member of the Wyatt family once possessed a prayer-book which

<sup>1</sup> *Harl. Soc.* lvi. 136; W. C. Metcalfe, *Vis. of Berks.* 104; *Vis. of Northants.* 201.

<sup>2</sup> *2 Gen.* viii. 232; *Her. and Gen.* iii. 290; S. Rudder, *Gloucestershire*, 542, 656.

<sup>3</sup> N. H. Nicolas, *Testamenta Vetusta*, 631.

<sup>4</sup> Dillon, 65; *L.P.* v. 686; vi. 32; vii. 9; xvii. 641.

<sup>5</sup> *L.P.* v. 406, 533; H. B. Wheatley, *London*, iii. 79.

<sup>6</sup> *2 Gen.* xii. 188.

<sup>7</sup> A. Clark, *Aubrey's Brief Lives*, ii. 32.





was said to have been given her by Anne on the scaffold.<sup>1</sup> With his brother-in-law, Sir Thomas Wyatt, the chief poet of Henry's court, Anthony Lee had friendly relations. We find him assisting at a seisin of property by Wyatt in 1539, and since poets are careless in business matters Lee had lent Wyatt 250 marks by 1540.<sup>2</sup> It is more interesting to trace a fellowship in literary tastes. The Devonshire MS., which preserves so many of Wyatt's poems, also contains one by Lee. It is not a very remarkable piece, but may as well be recorded here.<sup>3</sup>

May not thys hate from thee estarte,  
But fermly for to sytte?  
That vndeservyd cruell harte,  
When shall yt change? Not yet! not yet!

Yowre changyng mynd & feyny chere,  
With yowre love whyche was so knytte,  
How hyt hathe turnyd, yt doth apere.  
When shall yt change? Not yet! Not yet!

Hathe changyng suche power for to remove  
& clene owte for to shytte  
So fervent heate & hasty love?  
When shall yt change? Not yet! not yet!

Syns I am lefte, what remedy?  
I marvell neuer a whytte.  
I am not the fyrst, per dy!  
Nor shall not be the last; not yet.

Now syns your wyll, so waveryng,  
To hate hathe turnyd your wytte,  
Example as good as wrytyng,  
Hytt wyll not be; not yett.

Sense and metre labour, but the derivation from Wyatt's own manner, in diction and the use of refrain, is obvious.

<sup>1</sup> H. A. L. Fisher in *Pol. Hist. of England*, v. 384; A. F. Pollard, *Hen. VIII*, 343; Chambers, *Sir Thomas Wyatt*, 138.

<sup>2</sup> *Cat. Ancient Deeds*, v. 348; *L.P.* xv. 68; Nott, *Wyatt*, ii. 395; *Dillon Notes*, W. 169.

<sup>3</sup> *Add. MS.* 17492, f. 10<sup>v</sup>.





Anthony Lee probably shared Wyatt's Lutheranism, as well as his versifying. Both were on good terms with Cromwell, after whom Anthony named a son. In 1536 he was in attendance upon Richard Cromwell.<sup>1</sup> On 8 July 1537 the minister wrote to Wyatt, then on an embassy to Charles V in Spain, of a *contretemps* which had taken place at court.

I wold not omitte to aduertise you that som your seruantes here be called and named common stellers of the kinges hawks. I wold there shall <be> geuen warnyng that they shal leave suche pranks and that ye wolbe no mayntener of such vnlawfull fellowes of light disposition, and write vnto them earnestly.

But, as it turned out, the unlawful fellows were not Wyatt's men but Anthony Lee's. On 29 September Sir William Paulet, the Comptroller of the Household, reported to Cromwell that prisoners had confessed to stealing the royal hawks and those of Serjeant Willoughby by the appointment of Lee, whom the King desired to have sent to him. By 2 October Lee was apparently under restraint at Esher. Sir John Russell, he tells Cromwell, had brought him to Hampton Court. He pleads for his men confined in Windsor Castle, where many were sick roundabout of pestilence, and suggests that the real culprits were men of Sir Edward Nevill, who hunted the Earl of Wiltshire's ground. He had rather than a hundred marks that it was known, that the King's Highness might bear him out of suspect, and trusted that, once rid of this, he would never come more in suspect of such naughty matter.<sup>2</sup> Whatever Margaret Lee's relations with Henry may have been, she had sufficient influence with him to turn away his wrath. On 10 October Cromwell was able to tell Wyatt that the affair had blown over.<sup>2</sup>

Your brother Anthony Lee hathe been in the porters lodge

<sup>1</sup> *L.P.* xi. 291.

<sup>2</sup> *L.P.* xii (2), 275, 287, 306; R. B. Merriman, *Cromwell*, ii. 64, 93; *Dillon Notes*, W. 18.



for consenting to the steling of certain the kinges hawkes and your sister suying for his delyuerance hath ben here with me at Mortlake; they be bothe mery and the kinges highnes is now again good lorde vnto him.

John Leland, travelling through Bucks, came to Quarrendon, 'where mastar Anthony Legh dwellith', and then 'by greate champaine, frutfull for pastures and benes', to Burston, 'wher mastar Legh hathe a goodly house with goodly orchards and a parke'.<sup>1</sup> This must have been in 1539, just after Sir Robert Lee's death, since by the end of the year Anthony was himself knighted, and rode with other knights to receive Anne of Cleves between Blackheath and Greenwich on 3 January 1540.<sup>2</sup> In the same year trouble arose about his title to Quarrendon, which was questioned by the crown officers on the plea that the lease of 1499 had not been brought into court for cancellation before the grant of 1512 was made. The matter came before the Privy Council in 1541, and the Lord Chancellor gave an opinion, but a draft memorial to the Protector Somerset shows that it was not yet disposed of by 1547. Certainly Quarrendon passed to Anthony's heir, but he, too, had to defend his title more than half a century later.<sup>3</sup> From 1539 onwards Sir Anthony, like his father before him, exercised many duties of a justice of peace in Bucks. In the Parliaments of 1542 and 1547 he sat for the county. On 20 December 1548 he was appointed Custos Rotulorum. In November 1549 he was on the list of possible sheriffs for Bucks, but was not pricked, being indeed already near his end.<sup>4</sup> He had made some additions to the family estates. In 1540 he bought the second moiety of the Neyrnut manor in Fleetmarston from the Heigham family, and in 1545 some additional land there

<sup>1</sup> *Itinerary*, ii. 110.

<sup>2</sup> *L.P.* xiv (2), 201; *Chronicle of Calais*, 176.

<sup>3</sup> *L.P.* xv. 341; Nicolas, *Privy Council*, vii. 264; *Ditchley MSS.*; cf. p. 219.

<sup>4</sup> *L.P.*, *passim*; *Cal. P. Rolls* (Edw. VI), i. 320; ii. 137; v. 339; *Official Return*.









MARGARET LADY LEE

*By* HANS HOLBEIN





and in Blackgrove from John Lord Russell.<sup>1</sup> In 1546 he acquired the crown manor of St. Clere in Stone, Bucks, but of this he resold a moiety to Sir Robert Dormer.<sup>2</sup> And in 1542 he had quitclaimed his rights in certain Warwickshire properties to Robert, the son of John Lee.<sup>3</sup> A mortgage given to him in 1545 by Sir Edward Darrell of Littlecote, the nephew of Elizabeth Darrell, the mistress of Sir Thomas Wyatt, had been redeemed by the payment of £120.<sup>4</sup> His wife Margaret had predeceased him, and cannot therefore be the Lady Margaret Lee, whose epitaph, dated 1555, is found among Nicholas Grimald's poems in *Tottel's Songes and Sonettes* (1557).<sup>5</sup> This may have been the wife of Sir Richard Lee of St. Alban's, who was also a Margaret. But it is likely to be Lady Lee of Quarrendon, of whom a portrait by Hans Holbein, the court painter, is preserved.<sup>6</sup> Her relations with Sir Anthony towards the end of her days may have been clouded, for when he took Anne Hassall as a second wife, about 23 May 1548, he already had two illegitimate sons, Richard and Russell, by her.<sup>7</sup> She was the daughter of Richard Hassall of Hassall and Hankelow in Cheshire. Her grandmother was a Starkey, possibly connected with the first Benedict's son-in-law of that name.<sup>8</sup> On her Anthony settled his manors of Hardwick, Wedon, and Stone, and at Hardwick she was buried, before the beginning of the register in 1558.<sup>9</sup> Anthony himself made his will on 10 July 1549, and died on 24 November.<sup>10</sup> Besides his heir Henry and the bastards, he left three other sons, Cromwell, Robert, and Thomas, to the two latter of whom he assigned the remainder under Anne Hassall's settlement. The will names four unmarried daughters.

<sup>1</sup> *L.P.* xx (2), 545; *Add. Charter* 19541; *V.H. Bucks.* iv. 75; *Ditchley MSS.*

<sup>2</sup> *L.P.* xxi (1), 245, 692; *Bucks Records*, iv. 189; *Dillon Notes*, W. 20, 29, 165.

<sup>3</sup> *Various Collections* (H.M.C.), iv. 128.      <sup>4</sup> *Cat. Ancient Deeds*, vi. 412.

<sup>5</sup> *Ed. Rollins*, i. 108.

<sup>6</sup> *Plate II.*

<sup>7</sup> *2 Gen.* xii. 191.

<sup>8</sup> J. P. Earwaker, *Sandbach*, 118; *2 Gen.* viii. 232.

<sup>9</sup> *2 Gen.* viii. 232.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.* 231; xii. 191.





Of these Anne married Leonard Spenser of Naunton Hall in Rendlesham, Suffolk;<sup>1</sup> Lettice married Nicholas Cooke of Linstead, Suffolk;<sup>2</sup> Katharine married Giles Symonds of Clay, Norfolk;<sup>3</sup> and Joyce, on 29 November 1562, married John, son of Sir Robert Cheyne of Chessham Bois, Bucks.<sup>4</sup> A fifth daughter, Jane, who is not in the will, married Peter Reade of Gimingham, Norfolk.<sup>5</sup> The pedigrees do not agree as to the mothers to whom the daughters are to be assigned.

A little must be added about Sir Robert Lee's brothers, the younger sons of Richard. Of Henry we know nothing, except that he can hardly have become a priest, since a descendant emerges in the seventeenth century.<sup>6</sup> Both Benedict and Roger were progenitors of Bucks families.<sup>7</sup> Benedict, as we have seen, was his grandmother's heir. He was not of full age at her death. By 1504 he had married Isabel, daughter of Richard Clarell, probably of Edgcott in Northants, an offshoot of an old Yorkshire family, and doubtless related to the John and Agnes Clarell, whom Benedict sued for his evidences. Through her mother, Margaret Ede, Isabel was entitled to the manor of Adstock, Bucks, and other property, and to secure this Benedict had to bring another Chancery action against her uncle by marriage, John Pigott of Beachampton, Bucks. This must have been before 1511, when Benedict and Isabel settled Adstock on trustees.<sup>8</sup> In 1520 Benedict took a lease of the manor of Hulcott, Bucks, from the Hospital of St. Thomas Acon, which

<sup>1</sup> *Harl. Soc.* lxi. 38; *Harl. MSS.* 1560, f. 133; 5842, f. 114<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> W. C. Metcalfe, *Vis. Suffolk*, 19.

<sup>3</sup> *Harl. Soc.* xxxii. 278.

<sup>4</sup> *Bucks. Records*, vi. 205; *Harl. Soc.* lviii. 152.

<sup>5</sup> *Harl. Soc.* xxxii. 227; W. Rye, *Norfolk Families*, ii. 718; 2 *Gen.* viii. 229; *Harl. MSS.* 1177, f. 171<sup>v</sup>; 1560, f. 104.

<sup>6</sup> App. A.

<sup>7</sup> App. A, tables iii, iv.

<sup>8</sup> *Early Chanc. Proc.* C. 1. 536 (46); 2 *Gen.* viii. 231; *V.H. Bucks.* ii. 368; iv. 142, 195, 398; Bridges, *Northants.* i. 38, 118, 120, 121, 236, 371; A. Gibbons, *Early Lincs. Wills*, 181; *V.H. Yorks. (Gen.)*, iii. 280; *Surtees Soc.* xlv. 247; cxliv, 61, 65; J. Hunter, *Doncaster*, ii. 53; F. Madan, *Gresleys of Drakelowe*, 245.



was renewed in 1538.<sup>1</sup> He does not appear to have had children by his first wife, and by 1529, if a fine has not been antedated in error, he was remarried to Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Robert Cheyne, who later, so oddly are human affairs intertangled, became the sister-in-law of his grand-niece Joyce.<sup>2</sup> Benedict died in 1547, leaving an heir Robert, and a tomb at Hulcott, now robbed of its brasses.<sup>3</sup> Robert closed an old breach by marrying Luce Pigott, was knighted in 1608, dwelt on one of his kinsmen's manors in Hardwick, and died in 1616 at Stratford Langton in Essex.<sup>4</sup> His son Henry became the heir of the Quarrendon line. Benedict's daughter Mary married Sir Edward Tyrrell of Thornton, Bucks.<sup>5</sup>

Roger Lee established a third, or rather a first, link with the Cheyne family by marrying Isabel, sister of Sir Robert.<sup>6</sup> A brass of a chrisom child Benedict at Chesham Bois is dated by experts about 1520.<sup>7</sup> The Cheyne pedigree describes Roger as of Fleetmarston. In 1529 he bought a manor in Pitstone or Pightlesthorne, Bucks, from one Francis Woodmancey, who was related to the Cheynes.<sup>8</sup> In 1539 he leased from the crown the manor of Pulloxhill, together with Harlington Grange, which was attached to it, and also Herne Grange in Toddington.<sup>9</sup> These are in Bedfordshire. A former tenant of Herne Grange was William Marshall, whose widow Mary became Roger's second wife. About Pulloxhill there was trouble. A bogus claim to it was put forward by one Thomas Norton. The matter came before the Privy

<sup>1</sup> *L.P.* xiv (1), 485; *V.H. Bucks.* ii. 342.

<sup>2</sup> *Harl. Soc.* lviii. 152; *Bucks. Records*, ii. 129.

<sup>3</sup> *2 Gen.* viii. 231 (will); xiii. 229; *Hist. Mon. Bucks.* i. 211; cf. App. A.

<sup>4</sup> *2 Gen.* ix. 25 (will); xiii. 233; *Queen's MS.* 132, f. 58; *Hist. Mon. Bucks.* ii. 141; Shaw, *Knights*, ii. 146.

<sup>5</sup> *Harl. Soc.* xiii. 302; *William Salt Soc.* iii (2), 142; *Browne Willis MS.* xciii. 53.

<sup>6</sup> *Harl. Soc.* lviii. 152.

<sup>7</sup> *Bucks. Records*, vi. 189; *Hist. Mon. Bucks.* i. 102.

<sup>8</sup> *V.H. Bucks.* iii. 409.

<sup>9</sup> *L.P.* xiv (1), 532; *V.H. Beds.* ii. 376; iii. 380, 443; *Dillon Notes*, W. 90.





Council in 1540, and Norton was fined for misrepresentation.<sup>1</sup> In these proceedings Roger is described as of Ivinghoe, yet another Bucks manor, which he probably leased from the Mason family.<sup>2</sup> According to his younger son John, he was servant to the Princess Elizabeth, whom John had known as a boy, when she came to his father's house during the 'airing' of her own at Ashridge.<sup>3</sup> We can hardly date the airing. The former College of Bonhommes at Ashridge became Elizabeth's property in 1551, but she was residing there at various dates between 1539 and 1554.<sup>4</sup> Probably the visit was to Pitstone, which borders on Ashridge, of which Roger Lee may have been keeper. Roger died in 1552 or 1553, leaving an heir Edmund who married Avice, daughter of Edmund Ashfield of Shenley, Bucks.<sup>5</sup> This branch of the Lee family, unlike their cousins of Quarrendon, appear to have remained Catholics. John, on whom we shall come again, was at least able to pose as one abroad, and Edmund's son Roger fell under the influence of Father John Gerard and became a Jesuit.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *V.H. Beds.* ii. 376; Nicolas, *Privy Council*, vii. 50, 52.

<sup>2</sup> *V.H. Bucks.* iii. 379.

<sup>3</sup> *H.* v. 200.

<sup>4</sup> *V.H. Herts.* ii. 209; H. J. Todd, *Ashridge College*, 26 sqq.

<sup>5</sup> 2 *Gen.* viii. 230 (will); ix. 159; xiv. 127; *V.H. Bucks.* iv. 447.

<sup>6</sup> H. Foley, *Records of Society of Jesus*, i. 456; J. Morris, *John Gerard*, 321, 333, 349, 467, 491; A. Jessopp, *One Generation of a Norfolk House*, 220.



## II

### THE MAKING OF A COURTIER

HENRY LEE, the main subject of this chronicle, is noted as 17 in his father's inquisition on 8 May 1550, as 69 in that of his brother Cromwell on 7 July 1602, and as in his seventy-first year on a portrait dated '1602', which would cover up to 24 March 1603.<sup>1</sup> If we disregard Aubrey's gossip about his royal parentage, and take note of his mother's marriage settlement on 6 July 1532, we may safely place his birth about March 1533. One William Scott, a kinsman to Lee through his mother, wrote an outline of his career for a memorial tablet in Quarrendon chapel.<sup>2</sup> It has perished, but the terms of the inscription are upon record. They give Lee eighty years of life and sixty of knighthood before his death on 12 February 1611. The calculation can only be approximate. We know that the knighting was on 2 October 1553. Scott also tells us that Henry owed his birth and childhood to Kent and his uncle, Sir Thomas Wyatt, at Allington Castle. Of this there may be some confirmation in a legacy by Sir Henry Wyatt, who died in 1536, of ten pounds a year during nonage for his grandson Henry and ten marks for his grandson Robert, 'towardses and to finde them to scole'.<sup>3</sup> We are left to conjecture what features in the lives of Anthony and Margaret Lee may have led to such an arrangement. It can hardly have lasted beyond October 1542 when Sir Thomas himself died. At 14, continues Scott, Lee was sworn to the service of Henry the Eighth. Perhaps he was a henchman, as his uncle had been. A Henry Lee appears in the printed Acts of the Privy Council as Clerk

<sup>1</sup> Plate V.

<sup>2</sup> App. G.; cf. p. 300.

<sup>3</sup> *Dillon Notes*, W. 17 from *P.C.C. Cromwell*, 7; cf. *L.P.* xi. 208, 414; xii (1), 250.





of the Armoury in 1550 and 1551, but in an establishment list of 1552 he is Hugh Leygh.<sup>1</sup> In any case our young Henry Lee is not likely to have been qualified for a clerical post. Writing to Sir Robert Cecil in 1594, Lee says, 'I was once of New College, in Oxford, though not of late years'.<sup>2</sup> This cannot be verified from the university or college records, which is, however, not conclusive for the period in question.

William Scott commends Lee, who 'served five succeeding princes, and kept himself right and steady in many dangerous shocks and three utter turns of state'. Certainly he showed a gift of political discretion in later years. But he was a minor when his father died in 1550 and still a minor when the first utter turn of state came at the accession of Queen Mary in 1553. The crown was entitled to his wardship and the control of his estates. It is possible that he now lived at Quarrendon under the care of his half-uncle Benedict. In 1537 Benedict had been a henchman to the King, and had appeared as such, sitting upon one of the chariot horses, at the funeral of Jane Seymour.<sup>3</sup> He had married Margaret, daughter of Robert Pakington, of a Worcestershire family, who had acquired the manor of Aylesbury by marriage with an heiress of the Baldwins; and on this occasion Sir Anthony had settled the close of Further Upping in Quarrendon upon the pair.<sup>4</sup> A 'master Lee' whose servant carried a gift of partridges to the Princess Elizabeth at Hatfield in August 1552 is less likely to have been Benedict or Henry than Sir Richard Lee of St. Albans, which is much nearer than Quarrendon to Hatfield.<sup>5</sup> On the death of Edward the Sixth in 1553, when the Duke of Northumberland proclaimed his daughter-in-law, Lady Jane Grey, as queen and Mary's fortune hung

<sup>1</sup> Dasent, ii. 412; iii. 297; *Stowe MS.* 571, f. 22<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> H. iv. 529.

<sup>3</sup> *L.P.* xii (2), 373; 2 *Gen.* xxix, 100.

<sup>4</sup> *Harl. Soc.* xxvii, 103; Lipscomb, ii. 14; 2 *Gen.* xii. 191.

<sup>5</sup> *Camden Misc.* ii. 40.



for a few days in the balance, it was notably helped by the gentlemen of Bucks, who gathered in her support under Sir Edward Hastings of Stoke Poges, Sir Edmund Peckham of Denham, and William Lord Windsor of Bradenham, and among those set down for reward when it was all over was 'Mr. Leghe', whose merit was assessed at £100.<sup>1</sup> This was almost certainly Benedict, whose 'furious zeal for Queen Mary's cause', according to a reminiscence of Sir Henry's many years after, 'much dis-tempered' his son with Elizabeth.<sup>2</sup> The reward was somewhat delayed, but in 1557 took the form of a crown grant, for which Benedict had to pay £206 16s., of the manor of Bigging in Greenborough, Bucks, of which he was already a tenant on lease.<sup>3</sup> The royal order for its issue was given through Sir Edward Hastings, who noted that it was motived by the Queen's good confidence of his service done in her time, and what sickness had happened unto him, being not recompensed.<sup>4</sup> The youthful heir may not have been called upon by the Grey affair to disclose his own sentiments, which showed no trace of Catholicism in the next reign. At any rate, he was one of eighty knights dubbed by the Earl of Arundel beneath the cloth of estate on 2 October 1553, the day after Mary's coronation.<sup>5</sup> Perhaps neither his discretion nor his minority was required to save him from entanglement during the following January by the gallant but premature uprising of his cousin Sir Thomas Wyatt the younger. Elizabeth, who was certainly discreet, lay low at Ashridge, hard by Quarrendon, while it was in progress, and there seems to have been no outbreak of anti-Spanish temper in Bucks. Moreover, at some date before 21 May 1554, Henry had been safely married to Anne, daughter of William Lord Paget of Beaudesert in Stafford-

<sup>1</sup> *Camd. Soc.* xlvi. 187.

<sup>2</sup> *H.* x. 306.

<sup>3</sup> *Browne Willis MS.* xl, f. 60; *V.H. Bucks.* iv. 49.

<sup>4</sup> L. Howard, *Coll. of Letters* (1753), 215.

<sup>5</sup> Machyn, *Diary*, 46, 334.







shire, who was now one of Mary's privy councillors.<sup>1</sup> The exact date of this marriage is unknown. Paget, a man of no high birth, but a competent administrator and one who knew how to keep his theological leanings, whatever they may have been, in the background, had been brought into the royal service by Bishop Gardiner and became Secretary of State. He was a mainstay of the Protector Somerset's government, and although he abandoned him on his fall in 1549 and received his peerage in recompense, he was marked out for ruin by the Duke of Northumberland, and disgraced in 1552 on a charge of malversation of crown funds as Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. Pardoned in 1553, he became a member of Jane's council, and ratted with the rest to Mary. He might, therefore, have been an acceptable father-in-law for Henry Lee up to 1549 and again from 1553.

Little is heard of Henry Lee during the rest of Mary's reign. But he was present on 16 October 1555 at the burning of Nicholas Ridley, Bishop of London, for heresy, in the Town Ditch, now Broad Street, of Oxford, and John Foxe records in his *Book of Martyrs* how Ridley 'gave away divers small things to gentlemen standing by, and divers of them pitifully weeping, as to Sir Henry Lea he gave a new groat'.<sup>2</sup> Probably Lee was in the train of Lord Williams of Thame, who had been specially sent by the Queen to preserve order, while the execution was carried out by the Mayor of Oxford. Lee was returned to the Parliament of 1558 as a member for Bucks.<sup>3</sup> But during the sittings of January to March he was otherwise employed, in getting his first taste of military experience in the north. It was a brief affair. Philip had dragged England into the war with France which led to the loss of Calais. French troops had been sent to Mary of Guise, the Queen-regent of Scotland, who was

<sup>1</sup> *W. Salt Soc.* xii. 194.

<sup>2</sup> Foxe (ed. Townsend), vii. 547.

<sup>3</sup> *Official Return.*



ravaging the Border. A more formal invasion was planned, but was checkmated by the refusal of the feudal Scottish forces to undertake it. Lee was instructed by the Privy Council to take three hundred men to Berwick on 19 January, and he shared in a raid from Norham Castle into Scotland during April. He received thanks for his services on 7 September and permission to return home on 17 October, just in time for the prorogued sittings of Parliament which were terminated by Mary's death.<sup>1</sup>

With the accession of Elizabeth, Lee perhaps breathed more freely. His uncle Benedict died in February 1559.<sup>2</sup> Margaret, his widow, remarried one Thomas Scott of Yorkshire, and was still alive in 1611, when she surrendered the Further Upping in Quarrendon to Sir Henry's successor, for a release of £500 which Sir Anthony had lent his brother.<sup>3</sup> Benedict's eldest son, William, married Judith, daughter of Thomas Wirley, of Handsworth in Staffordshire, and was alive in 1615.<sup>4</sup> But by 1582 Bigging had passed to one John Arden, for whose debts Thomas Lee, as his feoffee, conveyed it in that year to Peter Dormer.<sup>5</sup> This Thomas was probably a younger son of Benedict, with whom we shall be concerned later. Lee's father-in-law, Lord Paget, although not unfriendly to Elizabeth's régime, went into retirement. The Catholic intrigues of his sons, notably the younger, Charles Paget, were destined in time to cause Lee some uneasiness. Few Elizabethan families were free from such complications. But Lee was cousin, through the Cookes, to the most powerful man in England, Sir William Cecil, Secretary of State, and afterwards Lord Treasurer and Lord Burghley. It may have

<sup>1</sup> Dasent, vi. 294, 396, 415; *S.P.D. Add.* viii. 88; Holinshed, *Scotland* (1586), 362.

<sup>2</sup> *Brown Willis MS.* xcvi, f. 65<sup>v</sup>, from Grandborough register.

<sup>3</sup> *Ditchley MSS.*

<sup>4</sup> *W. Salt Soc.* iii (2), 153; W. C. Metcalfe, *Vis. Northants.* 205; *Ditchley MSS.*

<sup>5</sup> *Early Chanc. Proc.* (ser. 2), cciii. 37.







been to Cecil that he owed his selection in May 1559 to accompany the Lord Chamberlain, William Lord Howard of Effingham, on a mission to receive at Paris the ratification by Henri II of the peace-treaty of Cambrai between England, France, Spain, and Scotland.<sup>1</sup> It was a hollow business. The treaty provided for the ultimate restoration of Calais to England. But Calais was never restored, and a month after the ratification Scottish heralds were parading the arms of England on their liveries at Paris jousts. The peace, however, opened the doors of the Continent to Englishmen, and Lee appears to have taken advantage of the opportunity to pay a visit to Italy. On 4 March 1561 he was at Venice on his way to Naples, and from Venice he wrote to Francis Yaxley, a Clerk of the Signet, sending political news of the movements of Spanish and Turkish forces in a contest for Tripoli, together with a message to Sir Edward Hastings, now Lord Hastings of Loughborough, to whom he said that he had written divers times without getting any reply. Letters, he fears, commonly sent to great men often die in the reading. He was not very fortunate in his correspondents on this occasion. Both, during his absence, had found their way to prison; Hastings for hearing mass, and Yaxley, who afterwards became a Catholic agent, for incautious talk about the relations of the Queen and Lord Robert Dudley. Probably Lee's letter was intercepted, as it is found among State papers.<sup>2</sup> But it was harmless enough and does not seem to have got him into trouble.

For some time after his return from Italy we hear little of Lee. Probably he was occupied with domestic affairs and the care of his estates. There were lawsuits to be dealt with. At Fleetmarston a member of the Hawtrey family was asserting rights of inheritance derived from the Hartishornes.<sup>3</sup> At Burston John Lord Mordaunt was bringing an action for wrongful detention of 'the manor

<sup>1</sup> Dasent, vii. 99.

<sup>2</sup> *S.P.F.* ii. 7.

<sup>3</sup> *Ditchley MSS.*



place' and another close, which he claimed that Sir Robert Lee had only held under a lease from him. He may have been successful, as his successor still held land there in 1608. Incidentally some much decayed papers concerning this suit give a list of Sir Henry's menservants at Burston, a dozen of whom were headed by Sir John Challenor, clerk and steward, and Robert Challenor, steward of the household. To the latter Lee gave the living of Fleetmarston in 1567.<sup>1</sup> In 1563 Lee acquired a London domicile, by taking a lease of lodgings at the old hospital of the Savoy in the Strand.<sup>2</sup> In 1566 we get the first hint of close relations between him and Robert Dudley, now Earl of Leicester. On 20 February of that year Leicester writes to Cecil about Bucks affairs 'from Sir Henry Lee's house', and on 9 May 1567 Sir Nicholas Throckmorton passes to Leicester the news from Lee that the Queen is about to send the Earl a token and a message.<sup>3</sup> Leicester had by now practically abandoned his hopes of marriage with Elizabeth, and after some traffic with Catholicism was settling down as the patron of the puritans. He and Cecil were not on good terms and were to be on worse terms still, and the divided adherence must have required careful manipulation, of which probably the young courtier was fully capable. Lee appears, indeed, to have carefully abstained throughout life from any intervention in politics, and so, perhaps, were Tudor turns of state most wisely faced. In 1568 Lee was again abroad, sending both to Cecil and to Leicester, from various points in his itinerary, those 'advices' of foreign happenings with which statesmen, in days before the development of any public news service, were always glad to supplement the reports of their regular agents.<sup>4</sup> One may imagine Cecil in particular

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*; *V.H. Bucks.* iii. 329; *Dillon Notes*, G. 25; W. 166.

<sup>2</sup> *Dillon Notes*, G. 98.

<sup>3</sup> *S.P.D.* xxxix. 31; vol. vii, pref. xv.

<sup>4</sup> *S.P.F.* viii. 491, 504, 526, 554, 562, 569, 581; ix. 40, 591; *Pepys MSS.* (H.M.C.), i. 119; *Dillon Notes*, G. 42.







turning them over morning by morning, and piecing them together in his capacious brain, in the effort to discover what Philip of Spain or Catherine de' Medici or those plotting exiles at Antwerp were now up to. Anything might prove significant in the shifting diplomacies of the time. Early in June Lee was at Antwerp in the company of Edward Lord Windsor, and from here he tells a story of one John Smith, who, while sitting next Lee at a banquet given by the Governor, picked a characteristic quarrel with Captain Maria, a former servant of the Duke of Somerset, about the bravery of Englishmen. According to Smith's own statement, which Lee seems to have enclosed, Smith cited Poitiers, the Black Prince in Spain, Sir John Hawkwood in Italy, and the conquest of Cyprus by Richard I, but Maria only shook his head and made a disdainful countenance. Then Smith said that the English were still just as brave, and Maria that any one of Philip's three nations, Spanish, Italians, Flemish, was a match for them. Smith was ready to defend English valour with his sword, and Maria replied that they would talk of that after dinner in another place. Here the magistrates intervened with 'Hola, hola, bestay the matter', and the Chancellor told Maria that he ought to speak better of the English after being so long in the country. Maria said that he had spoken better of them than Smith himself, and hereupon Smith gave him the lie. Lee thought that either a combat or a treasonable revenge would be the outcome. John Smith, who had accompanied Lee on his visit to France in 1559, was of Little Baddow, Essex, and at this time a soldier of fortune in the Spanish army. Later he received offers of service to Elizabeth through John Fitzwilliams, the Governor of the Merchant Venturers at Antwerp, and Lee himself, was knighted in 1576 and given diplomatic work in France and Spain.<sup>1</sup> Thereafter he fell into financial difficulties and lost favour. He was

<sup>1</sup> *Camd. Soc.* xxiii. 94.



a competent soldier and trained the Essex bands at the time of the Armada. But the impetuous temper already displayed at Antwerp brought him into conflict with Leicester, whose military skill he disparaged. A repetition of his criticisms in *Certain Discourses Concerning Weapons* (1590) led to the suppression of the book, and a final outbreak in 1596, which he attempted to explain away as 'distempered, wynie and dawish prodigalities', sent him to the Tower.<sup>1</sup> At Antwerp Lee had his portrait painted by Antonius Mor.<sup>2</sup> He then made his way by Cologne and Speyer to Augsburg, where he gathered information as to the help which William of Orange, whom he had met near Cologne, might expect from the German Princes if he invaded the Netherlands from Friesland. Orange had already had a partial success at Heiliger-Lee. His disastrous defeat by the Duke of Alva at Jemmingen was yet to come, and in the interval Alva had executed the Counts Egmont and Horn, who had been leaders of the constitutional opposition to Philip's government of the States. The deed, according to Lee, had caused anger in Germany and the displeasure of the Emperor himself. Lee is at Venice, where he fell in with Arthur Hall of Grantham, in July and August, at Padua in September, at Venice again in October, at Florence in December. He is still picking up his crumbs of news and sends on to Cecil Italian 'advices' from Rome. At Padua he has heard with grief of Cecil's sudden and dangerous sickness, which does not seem to be elsewhere recorded, and takes occasion to crave the banishing from his ears of such tales as the Court with envy brings forth, and that he will command Lee as one who desires to serve him. And a month later he asks Cecil's help with one Mr. Hunter who had refused to pay his tithes, not the first cruel unneighbourly act Lee had received at his hands. Lee's father had obtained a lease of the tithes of Quarrendon from the Dean and Chapter of

<sup>1</sup> H. vi. 450.

<sup>2</sup> Plate I (f. p.).







Lincoln.<sup>1</sup> The last letter is from Venice on 5 March 1569. Lee has heard of the impounding by Elizabeth of Genoese treasure sent by Philip to Alva and driven by privateers into English ports, and of the risk of a formal breach with Spain, if not also with France, which ensued.

The fame of warres wyll make me draw homeward sooner than I ment. And althoughe my abylyte is leste to be respected yet the desyre I haue to searve her majestie as I am bounde and my contre makeathe me desyre rather to creape w<sup>th</sup> the pysmare than reste w<sup>th</sup> the dormouse.

The danger was a real one, but it had passed before Lee could get back, since both Spain and France were too much hampered with difficulties elsewhere to be ready for an open conflict. And in England a political crisis had supervened, which may perhaps have made Lee think that he would have done better to stay where he was. The chief instigator of the raid on the treasure had been Cecil, and its effect was to enable the Spanish ambassador to foment an intrigue against him, which drew in not only the Duke of Norfolk and others of the old nobility, who had always disliked his influence with the Queen, but also Leicester. The intention was to marry Norfolk to Mary of Scots, and to secure her right of succession to the crown, if necessary by force. Lee probably returned in the spring. In September we find Cecil writing to Archbishop Parker to support the Queen's request for favour to 'my dear friend' in a case referred to the Archbishop, and in the following March Parker acknowledged Cecil's thanks on behalf of Lee for the favour shown, being careful to explain that it was not against justice, he trusted, nor against his conscience, since he had only brought equity to temper the extremity of law.<sup>2</sup> Probably this was the tithe affair about which Lee had written from Italy. Meanwhile the anti-Cecil intrigue had broken down, partly through his own skilful

<sup>1</sup> *Ditchley MSS.*

<sup>2</sup> *Parker Corr.* 354, 359.



handling of the situation, and partly because Leicester lost heart and revealed to the Queen what was afoot. Norfolk was arrested on 3 October, and before long there was occasion after all for Lee's military services. In November the northern Catholic Earls of Northumberland and Westmorland, disappointed of their hopes, broke into open revolt. The royal forces were under the command of the Earl of Sussex, as President of the North. They were not strong enough for immediate action, and Sussex wisely waited at York. But Lord Clinton was gathering troops in Lincolnshire and the Earl of Warwick in the Midlands, and with Warwick was Lee. The reinforcements met at Wetherby on 13 December, and on the next day Lee wrote to Cecil, describing the strength of the rebels, and criticizing the conduct of affairs by Sussex, on the ground that those who were known both for religion and dutiful zeal to Her Majesty had less trust committed to them, and the contrary most credit.<sup>1</sup> In fact Sussex, although a half-brother of his had joined the Earls, seems to have been perfectly loyal in his post. But there was an ancient ill will between him and Leicester. It did not take long to disperse the rebels and drive them across the Border, and the southern levies were promptly disbanded.

William Scott dwells upon Lee's experience in foreign countries, 'where soon putting on all those abilities that become the back of honour, especially skill and proof in arms, he lived in grace and gracing the Courts of the most renowned Princes of that warlike age, and returned home charged with the reputation of a well-formed traveller, and adorned with those flowers of knighthood, courtesy, bounty, valour, which quickly gave forth their fruit'. Certainly the year 1570 seems to have been something of a turning-point in Lee's career, and from thenceforward he was a conspicuous figure on the ceremonial and festive side of court life. It may have

<sup>1</sup> *S.P.D. Add.* xv. 97.







been in 1570 that he established the annual tilt in honour of Elizabeth's accession on 17 November, to which his fame is mainly due. His first recorded appearance as a tilter is in the following May. It was certainly in 1570 that he began to acquire territorial interests in Oxfordshire, by taking a reversionary lease from the crown of the manor of Spelsbury for a term of 21 years, to begin after the death of Anne, Duchess of Somerset, who then held the manor.<sup>1</sup> A little to the south is Woodstock, and here in 1571 Lee became Lieutenant of the royal manor, with the charge of the park and palace, at which he received Elizabeth for the first of several visits in 1572. His activities at Woodstock and in the tilt must receive separate treatment.<sup>2</sup> Oxfordshire was destined to become his main place of abode, but he did not, now or at any time, wholly abandon Bucks. He sat again for that county in the Parliament of 1572 and probably in that of 1571, for which no list of members is preserved.<sup>3</sup> And that he continued the tradition of his family as a grazier at Quarrendon is shown by the fact that he lost three thousand head of sheep, cattle, and horses there in a disastrous flood of October 1570.<sup>4</sup> Licences for the export of wool were granted him in 1571 and 1572, and for that of 200,000 calf-skins in 1576.<sup>5</sup> He was still in close association with the Earl of Leicester, whom he accompanied on a visit of 27 September 1571 to Thomas Fisher's house of Warwick Priory, whence the Earl, as a Knight of the Order of St. Michael, went to keep the feast of Michaelmas at St. Mary's Church.<sup>6</sup> On 5 June 1572 Lee was present at the execution on Tower Hill of the Duke of Norfolk, who, after the failure of his hopes of marriage with Mary of Scots, had been drawn into the Ridolfi plot for foreign

<sup>1</sup> *P. Roll*, 12 *Eliz.* p. 5, m. 5 (26 May 1570).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Chs.* iv, v.

<sup>3</sup> *Official Return*.

<sup>4</sup> Holinshed<sup>2</sup>, iii. 1223, citing T. Knell, *Declaration of Fluddes* (1571).

<sup>5</sup> *Dillon* 70; *Notes G.* 52, 56, from *Patent Rolls*.

<sup>6</sup> T. Kemp, *Black Book of Warwick*, 33.



intervention, and met the reward of a traitor. On the scaffold Norfolk whispered some message in Lee's ear, and then turned to the people, and embracing Sir Henry Lee declared that his heart had ever been as true to his prince as that of any subject. And so, Sir Henry Lee staying him by the left arm, he kneeled down, and asked the Queen's forgiveness.<sup>1</sup> What took Lee to Tower Hill on this occasion is not clear. Certainly no sympathy with the Duke's intrigues or his Catholicism can be suspected in so ardent a patriot and Protestant. Possibly he was representing Sir George Howard, a kinsman of Norfolk, whom he later succeeded as Master of the Armoury, in attendance on that invaluable instrument of Tudor administration, the axe. On 10 August 1572 Burghley wrote to Leicester about an intended gift by the Queen to Lee. She meant to bestow the bill for it on him in person, and wanted care to be taken to have it sealed and ready for her.<sup>2</sup> Lee wrote himself from Edinburgh to Burghley on 23 May 1573, asking favour for the better furtherance of the licence which Burghley had obtained for him from the Queen. Master Toulouse the copper-smith, brought to him by Parker, had been in hand with him for it, and if Burghley would speak with Parker, Lee thought that he might get either Toulouse or the merchants of Bruges to buy his rights, which would bring him great comfort, and the hope of serving the Queen, his country, and Burghley himself with a quieter mind.<sup>3</sup> The nature of the royal gift is obscure. It can hardly have been merely a licence to export wool, although no doubt a market could be found for this in Bruges. The mention of a coppersmith may again suggest some interest of Lee in the Armoury, of which a Henry Parker was a Yeoman under Howard.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Strype, *Annals*, ii (2), 461; Cobbett, *State Trials*, i. 1032.

<sup>2</sup> *S.P.D.* lxxxix, 3; *Dillon Notes*, G. 55.

<sup>3</sup> *Scottish Papers*, iv. 568; *S.P.F.* xii. 342; *Dillon Notes*, G. 67.

<sup>4</sup> Hasted, *Kent*<sup>2</sup>, i. 64.







During 1573 Lee was once more engaged in a military exploit, to which in after years he looked back with some pride. The long struggle between the Protestant nobles of Scotland and the last desperate adherents of Mary was now drawing to a close. The appointment of James Douglas, Earl of Morton, as Regent had led to a pacification over the greater part of the country. But Sir William Kirkcaldy of Grange and William Maitland of Lethington still held out in Edinburgh Castle, and a blockade of some months by the Regent's forces had failed to compel a surrender. Engineers, however, advised that an effective bombardment was possible, and at last a reluctant Elizabeth consented to send an English expedition to Morton's assistance. Sir William Drury was put in command, and big guns, some of them taken from the Scots themselves at Flodden Field, were sent round by sea to Leith. Drury entered Edinburgh on 25 April and was joined by Henry Killigrew, Elizabeth's agent in Scotland. They were soon followed by a number of English volunteers, including Lee, who left Berwick on 29 April in company with his cousin William Knollys and others and a train of twenty servants, and had reached Edinburgh by 2 May, when the party dined with the Regent.<sup>1</sup> He was dispatched on a mission to Stirling, but was back by 11 May, when he sent Burghley an account of the situation.<sup>2</sup> As a 'bystander' he was a little critical of his leaders, thinking that, if the castle was carried by assault, there would be trouble between English and Scots as to the spoil, and that an attempt ought to be made to bring the 'Castilians' to terms. But he admitted that he did not run thoroughly with others in opinion. Meanwhile, the artillery was being brought into place. The castle stood on an eminence of rock sloping upwards from east to west and mainly accessible from the eastern end, where a steep road led up from the

<sup>1</sup> *S.P.F.* xii. 325; *Sc. P.* iv. 556; Holinshed, *Scotland* (1586), 412.

<sup>2</sup> *Cotton MS. Caligula C.* iv, f. 91; *Sc. P.* iv. 560, 562.



High Street. Here the approach was guarded by a projecting fortification known as the Spur, and opposite this were set the main batteries under Drury's own command. The other sides were too precipitous to allow of direct assault, but they could be bombarded and diversion of the defenders effected. They were therefore ringed round with four other batteries on 'mounts'. Lee was in charge of one of these mounts, while the others were assigned to the Regent, George Carey, and Thomas Sutton, then an officer of the Ordnance, and afterwards to become the founder of the Charterhouse.<sup>1</sup> Lee's mount was 'on the back part of the Castle', and it must be doubtful, therefore, whether it was on the site of Heriot's Hospital, as Lord Dillon suggests, since that lies to the south-east. On 17 May the eastern batteries opened fire and the great St. David's tower, which overlooked the slope, fell. Some of the other guns were slower in getting to work, but Lee also was successful in making an early breach, and he was one of those commended by Killigrew, in a report of 22 May, as 'both painful and vigilant'.<sup>2</sup> The position was still doubtful when Lee himself wrote again to Burghley on 23 May.<sup>3</sup> In fact, the bombardment continued for ten days, and the ill success of the famous Mons Meg in reply drove the Castilians to despair. At last, on 26 May, a feigned assault was made at Lee's breach, and meanwhile Drury stormed the Spur. A Scottish minister, who was among the lookers-on, 'saw the forwark of the Castell all demolished, and rinning like a sandie bray'. The last water-supply of the defenders was now gone, and negotiations were opened. Kirkcaldy and another were let down by leathers from the walls, and Lee was one of the hostages who went in to take their place.<sup>4</sup> On 28 May the castle was surrendered.

<sup>1</sup> App. G; *Sc. P.* iv. 571, 572; Dillon, 68.

<sup>2</sup> *Sc. P.* iv. 567; *S.P.F.* xii. 342; R. Sempill, *The Siege of the Castell of Edinburgh* (1573).

<sup>3</sup> *Sc. P.* iv. 568; *S.P.F.* xii. 342.

<sup>4</sup> *Sc. P.* iv. 570; *S.P.F.* xii. 345.







Four days later Lee was sent off to England bearing the letters of the victors and an appeal for mercy from Maitland and Kirkcaldy, to whom all terms had been refused.<sup>1</sup> But Elizabeth would not intervene. Maitland, already ill, was wise enough, or fortunate enough, to die in prison, and Kirkcaldy was hanged by the Regent. But all was well for Lee. Drury reported that his diligent travail and service in the exploit deserved great commendation, and could not have been spared, and a grateful Queen acknowledged that he had done like a very good gentleman.<sup>2</sup>

It may have been Lee who in 1573 wrote the following lines in a prayer-book preserved at Ditchley.<sup>3</sup>

The Owner of this booke defende  
from hurte o Lorde of those,  
That seeme in shows to be a frende,  
And in there harts be mortall foes.

For thou art still poore Daniels Lorde  
and Jonas plaints thou dost embrace  
Defende restore with sweete accorde  
the beames of thie brighte shining face.

In March 1574 Lee was with the court at Greenwich, where he was lodged in the Friary.<sup>4</sup> In August he must have been in Yorkshire, apparently with followers who amused themselves with giving dramatic performances, since the town accounts of Doncaster record a payment of 5s. on 2 August to 'Sir Henry Lee's men, which did not playe'.<sup>5</sup> But in the same month he had a service to perform for his patron Leicester. In the winter of 1573 the Earl had contracted a second marriage, which he afterwards repudiated, with Douglas Lady Sheffield, a daughter of Lord Howard of Effingham, and on 7 August

<sup>1</sup> *Sc. P.* iv. 573, 574, 576; *S.P.F.* xii. 348.

<sup>2</sup> *Sc. P.* iv. 581.

<sup>3</sup> *Dillon Notes*, G. 71.

<sup>4</sup> *Lansd. MS.* 18, f. 74.

<sup>5</sup> J. Tomlinson, *Doncaster*, 47.



1574 was born a son Robert, who was christened at Sheen at the hands of a minister sent from Lee, who stood godfather by deputy.<sup>1</sup> By 1574 Lee had been appointed to the Mastership of the Leash, a minor court office, which involved the supervision of the royal coursing greyhounds, and to him, in this capacity, Edward Hellowes, a Groom of the Leash, dedicated his translation of the *Familiar Epistles* of Antonio de Guevara. In June 1575 Lee showed the first signs of the ill health of which his complaints afterwards became frequent; and the Privy Council granted him access for physic to Doctor Edward Atselowe, a physician of repute among the nobility, who was apparently attached to the household of the Earl of Sussex, but was implicated more than once in Catholic conspiracies, and was at this moment in the Tower.<sup>2</sup> And now we come to a rather remarkable episode in the financial career of an acquisitive man. In 1575 Lee had a fresh gift from the Queen.<sup>3</sup> It was nothing less than a grant of the bodies and souls of some hundreds of Lee's fellow subjects, bondmen and bondwomen on royal manors. It is rather surprising to think that in the spacious times of great Elizabeth there were still serfs in England. But so it was. They were of course survivals. Serfdom had been the normal status of manorial peasants in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. It was not merely that they held their land at the will of their lord and paid for it not by rent but by agricultural services in the lord's fields, since these might be the incidents of tenure even by free men. But the serf was personally unfree. His savings and any property he might acquire outside the manor were his lord's. So, too, were even his chattels, with the possible exception of his wainage, the oxen and plough with which he tilled

<sup>1</sup> Dugdale, *Warwickshire*, 166; G. E. Cokayne, *Baronage*, s.v. 'Leicester'.

<sup>2</sup> Dasent, viii. 396.

<sup>3</sup> A. Savine, *Bondmen under the Tudors* (2 *Trans. R. Hist. Soc.* xvii, 235); C. M. Hoare, *An East Anglian Soke*, 294, 298, 305; F. J. Furnivall, in 4 *N.Q.* xi. 297; *S.P.D.* cli, 60, 63, 64; *Dillon Notes*, G. 74, W. 29.





his few acres. He might be taxed at will, and punished, short of death or maiming, from which the royal courts would protect him. The essence of his position was that he was tied, with his *sequela* or brood after him, to the manor on which he dwelt and on which his labour was wanted. If he attempted to alienate his land, it became forfeit. If he got leave to live elsewhere, he must pay a *chevage*; if his daughter married, a *merchet*; if she was incontinent, a *leyrwit*; before his son could take orders, yet another fine. The lord must be compensated against any possible loss of services. Economic changes during the Middle Ages led to the gradual extinction of serfdom. Personal service became of less importance as a system of tenure by rent grew up. Enclosures for grazing led to a desire to get rid of labour, not to keep it. Probably many serfs were expropriated to clear the land for sheep-farms, and drifted into towns or became vagrants. There were various ways by which a serf might acquire a free status. He was free if he fled the manor and could remain without recall for a year and a day in a privileged royal manor or a chartered town. The royal courts developed a bias 'in favour of liberty', and were apt to hold that any implied contract between a lord and his serf was an acknowledgement of freedom. And many lords granted formal charters of manumission. Generally, no doubt, there was a consideration in money. But ecclesiastical sentiment regarded manumission as an act of piety, although sentiment did not always lead to practice on ecclesiastical manors. The abbey of Glastonbury had still many serfs just before its dissolution. In Elizabethan days a serf was generally known as a bondman. A statistical inquiry has led to an estimate that there were still some five hundred bondman families on eighty manors spread over twenty-six counties in the sixteenth century, and that of these some two hundred families were still unfree under Elizabeth. There were still a few as late as 1617. Many of these families were



well-to-do. Lord Stafford tried to claim a Mayor of Bristol as his bondman in 1586. But bondage had come to carry a stigma of social inferiority. A Dorsetshire applicant for manumission complains that 'froward' neighbours despise him and will not intermarry with his children. I suspect that when, as far back as 1487, Hugh Saunder, Fellow of Merton, took that name instead of Shakspeare, *quia vile reputatum est*, it was because he had been a bondman.<sup>1</sup> Lee appears to have procured two sets of patents, one under the Chancery seal, the other under that of the Duchy of Lancashire. The former gave him some trouble because the Clerks of the Signet and Privy Seal complained that as a result they lost their fees on individual grants of manumission. But it is about the working of the Duchy grants that we know most. A first patent was issued on 7 January 1575. There was no longer much profit to be made out of bondmen by their lords, except through manumission payments or the forfeiture of alienated lands. And in fact what the patent gave to Lee was the right to search out bondmen in any of the Duchy manors and to manumit two hundred of them. A later patent of 21 June added another hundred. Lee was to agree with the bondmen as to the amount of the payment, but they were to have no option in the matter. If any refused to be manumitted Lee might seize their lands, and he might also seize any lands shown to have been alienated since the Queen's accession. On the completion of each agreement Lee was to address a petition to the Chancellor of the Duchy, who would prepare a charter of manumission. The preamble used is interesting.

Whereas from the beginning God created all men free by nature, and afterwards the law of man placed some under the yoke of servitude, we believe it to be a pious thing, and acceptable to God and consonant with Christian charity, to make

<sup>1</sup> Chambers, *William Shakespeare*, ii. 375.







wholly free certain who have been thrown into villainage to us and our successors and bound in servitude.

There is no reference, it will be observed, to the payments by the unfortunate bondmen, but the earlier sixteenth-century practice in analogous cases under the Court of Augmentations seems to have been to take a third of the value of the bondman's property. Lord Dillon thought that Lee could have got little out of his grant except 'a pretty crop of lawsuits'.<sup>1</sup> But I rather doubt this. It is true that certain tenants, whom he claimed to be concealed bondmen, disputed the matter in the Duchy courts, and in some cases, including that of a member of the armigerous family of Gogill, with success. But the Duchy archives contain numerous records of manumissions effected for Lee between 1575 and 1599, and some of these were of well-to-do men, paying from £20 to £60. The poorer tenants Lee seems to have left alone. He had also secured by 1577 eleven recently alienated holdings. Many of the manumissions were on the manors of Gimingham in Norfolk, Long Benington and Ingoldmells in Lincolnshire, and Kingston Lacy in Dorset. Two were at Spelsbury itself.

Lee was now for many years a conspicuous figure in Elizabethan life. As Champion of the Tilt he had an acknowledged position on days of ceremony, and his entertainments of the Queen at Woodstock and Ditchley in 1575 and 1592 were notable episodes in the picturesque annals of her progresses. Some further experiences abroad fell to his lot. In 1576 it was reported that he would be sent to welcome Don John of Austria on his arrival as Governor of the Netherlands. Elizabeth's envoy for this purpose proved actually to be Edward Horsey.<sup>2</sup> But in February 1577 Lee was selected with Fulke Greville to accompany Sir Philip Sidney on a more important mission of congratulation to Rudolph of Bohemia on his

<sup>1</sup> *Dillon*, 69.

<sup>2</sup> *Sp.P.* ii. 345; C. Read, *Walsingham*, i. 343.



election as Emperor.<sup>1</sup> They went by Antwerp to Brussels and Louvain, where they did in fact see Don John, and then by Heidelberg to Rudolph's court at Prague, returning by Neustadt, Leutenburg, Cologne, Antwerp, Breda, Gertrudenberg, and Dordrecht, and reaching England early in June. Rudolph they found 'extremely Spaniolated', and the chief interest of the embassy, as it presented itself to Sidney, was in a more or less unofficial attempt to organize a general Protestant League by conference with William of Orange at Dordrecht and Count John Casimir, brother of the Elector Palatine, at Heidelberg. If he communicated his ambitions to Lee, he doubtless met with sympathy. In June 1578 there was talk of again sending Lee to the Netherlands, 'for the purpose of bringing Count Swartzenburg's cavalry'.<sup>2</sup> But it remains obscure whether he really went, and what indeed Count Swartzenburg, who was the imperial ambassador in the Netherlands, could want with cavalry. Perhaps it was only horses for his stable that were in question, and these, no doubt, Lee would be well qualified to procure for him. On 12 September the University of Oxford made a gift of gloves to Lee and one of his brothers, possibly at Wilton, where similar gifts were made to the Earl of Leicester and his secretary Arthur Atey.<sup>3</sup> In the winter of the same year Lord Burghley records a present to him of two does from Sir Henry.<sup>4</sup>

In Lord Dillon's library was a manuscript translation of a *History of the War of Malta* by Coelius Secundus, with a dedication of 11 January 1579 to Lee by the translator, Thomas Mainwaringe of St. John's College. It does not appear to have been printed.<sup>5</sup> But in 1580 Thomas Newton dedicated to him his *View of Valyaunce*, and in the epistle of 20 June described him as Master both of the Armoury and of the Leash. Lord Compton had

<sup>1</sup> Rutland MSS. (H.M.C.), i. 111.

<sup>3</sup> Vice-Chancellor's Compti, f. 47<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> H. ii. 227.

<sup>2</sup> Sp.P. ii. 596.

<sup>5</sup> Dillon Notes, G. 83.







succeeded him in the latter post by 1596.<sup>1</sup> His formal appointment to the Armoury was on 9 June 1580, but he had probably been acting from an earlier date.<sup>2</sup> Thomas Newton writes in flattering terms. Both the title and the matter of the book, he thinks—

doth (as it were) by peculiar choice challenge your favourable patronage. For omitting the large Seas of your sundry other deserved commendations & praises, which I know (such is your Christian modestie) you love not to heare to your own face emblazed, & which I am far unmeete & unable fully to decipher: what invincible courage in the cause and quarrell of your Prince and Country harboureth within your undaunted breast: what dexteritie, with shooke and launce followeth your vigorous arme: what prompt readinesse and alacritie to march against the enimie hath appered in you abroad: what courtesie, affabilitie, bountie, & heroicall generositie at home: both Courte resoundeth, & Country plausibly attestifieth.

It is to be hoped that Lee's Christian modesty did not take offence at this, and that his heroical generosity rose to the occasion.

Lee's functions no doubt entailed a good deal of attendance at court. His annual New Year gifts to the Queen, in return for which he received a customary reward of plate, are continuously recorded in household rolls from 1576 to 1587.<sup>3</sup> He generally gave a piece of jewellery of some elaborate design, such as 'two serpents of golde knytt together, with three very smale perles hanging at it', or 'twoe bodkins of golde, thone a flye, thother a spider, the spiders bodye being a perle and a sparke of a rubye, the fly garnished with sparks of dyamondes'. Particularly appropriate from a tilter was 'a launce-staffe of goulde, sett with sparkes of dyamondes and rubyes', and from a forester 'a bodkin of goulde, with a pendant, being a hunters horne, and a buck in the midst of it'. But variety was furnished by 'a booke of

<sup>1</sup> *S.P.D.* (1595-7), p. 271.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Ch. V.

<sup>3</sup> App. C.



golde, with leaves in it of paper and parchment to write in', and 'one cabinet of ebinney, with three borders of sylver, wroughte with an antycke hedde, and the cover garnished with sylver, wrought fyne with grene wrought velvett'. Collectors of antiquities would open their eyes, and their purses, at such treasure trove, were it now preserved.





### III

#### THE JUSTICE OF PEACE

SIR HENRY LEE does not seem to have taken much part in politics. Whether he sat in the Parliament of 1584 is uncertain, since no roll of members for that year is preserved. Certainly he kept in touch with Leicester as well as with Burghley. In 1580 he writes to the Earl's secretary, Arthur Atey, thanking him for court news, and wishing success to Don Antonio, Prior of Crato, who was claiming the crown of Portugal against Philip of Spain, and to the English cause in Ireland, where Lord Grey of Wilton had just gone as Governor, and was shortly to massacre an invading body of papal troops in the fort of Smerwick.<sup>1</sup> By this time Sir Francis Walsingham had come upon the stage of affairs, and from 1580 to 1590 his part in politics was second only to that of Burghley. Naturally, Lee did not neglect Walsingham. In 1583 he excuses a modest present. 'He cannot send much that has but little.'<sup>2</sup> Lee's own ecclesiastical sympathies, like Walsingham's, were strongly Protestant, and he must have been considerably perturbed by the activities of two of his wife's brothers, Thomas, who became Lord Paget in 1568, and Charles. Both were Catholics and deeply entangled in Catholic politics. Charles, the younger of the two, was evidently a born intriguer, and for many years followed a tortuous career which was not destined to reap its final reward of poetic justice. He left England for conscience sake about 1572, and took up his abode at Paris as secretary to James Beaton, Archbishop of Glasgow, the agent of Mary of Scots. Here he worked secretly to supplant Beaton, and later became a cause of division among the Catholic refugees by his hostility to the Spanish and Jesuit element in their

<sup>1</sup> *S.P.D.* cxlii. 9.

<sup>2</sup> *S.P.D.* clviii. 63.



counsels. So far as he had any serious aim, it appears to have been a restoration of Catholicism in England by foreign arms, but not for the benefit of any foreign potentate. He had not so far committed any open offence against his country, and by 1581 he was in correspondence with Sir Francis Walsingham in the hope of recovering the profits of his estates. Probably he was playing a double game, at which Walsingham was fully his match. At any rate he did not obey a royal command for his return in the autumn of 1582, and in the next year he was an active agent in the plans of the Duke of Guise for a double invasion of Scotland and the south of England. He was now not at Paris but at Rouen, where, as he told Walsingham, he could drink English beer and serve his country in anything not affecting his conscience. And from Rouen in September 1583 he slipped over to Sussex under assumed names, with a view to examining the practicability of a coastal landing, and held conferences, both with the Earl of Northumberland and other local Catholics, and with his brother Thomas, who visited him at Petworth. For many years Lord Paget had lived as a law-abiding citizen. But about 1580 he too had developed Catholic scruples, and for some months was under restraint. It is difficult to believe that he was not fully informed at the Petworth visit as to the nature of the enterprise in which his brother was engaged. But afterwards he seems to have had qualms, since he sent a warning to Charles, when he was back in Rouen, that he must expect to be disowned if he proved forgetful of the duty which he owed to his country. Walsingham, by this time, had for some months known of the projected invasion. But he had made the mistake of thinking that it was being planned through the French ambassador, Mauvissière, and it was not until November 1583 that his spies were able to intercept letters, which revealed that the real agents of communication with Mary were the Spanish ambassador, Bernardino







de Mendoza, Lord Henry Howard, and Francis Throckmorton. Mendoza was expelled, and his English confederates arrested. And now Lord Paget took alarm and hastily fled to join his brother in Paris. On 29 January 1584 Lady Lee wrote to Charles that a proclamation calling on them to return had been issued, and warning him against other refugees in France, whom she believed to be spies. 'For your coming into England', she says, 'I dare gage on my life you had no ill meaning.' Probably the letter was intercepted, as it is among the State Papers.<sup>1</sup> There is nothing to suggest that any suspicion of complicity with his kinsmen fell upon Lee. But they did not return, and an attempt in the following June to obtain the surrender of them by the French Government was equally unsuccessful. They still professed fidelity to the English ambassador in Paris, Sir Edward Stafford, to whom in October Lord Paget confided a letter to the Privy Council, enclosed in one to Lady Lee.<sup>2</sup> But Walsingham, who had no opinion of Stafford, had them watched by his own men, and was easily able to assure himself that the intriguing continued. Charles at least was involved in the plot of William Parry, if it was really his plot, to murder Elizabeth in 1585, and in the invasion plot for which John Ballard and Anthony Babington were agents in 1586, although it is not certain that he was aware of its development into yet another murder plot, which brought Mary of Scots at last to her scaffold. He was uniformly unfortunate in falling in with fellow conspirators selected by Walsingham. Another demand for his surrender was refused by the French in September 1586, and in 1587 both brothers were attainted by Act of Parliament. Early in 1588 they were with the Prince of Parma in Flanders, waiting for the triumph of the Armada, 'when the proudest councillor or minister in England will be proud

<sup>1</sup> *S.P.D.* clxvii. 51; *Dillon Notes*, W. 74. I cannot find the proclamation.

<sup>2</sup> *S.P.D. Add.* xxviii. 97, 98.



of the favour of a Catholic gentleman'. In 1589 Lord Paget was in Brussels, 'sickly and wearing away apace', and there he died in 1590. Charles had entered the services of Philip II in 1588. But he remained anti-Spanish as well as anti-Jesuit, a supporter of the claims of James VI against those of the Infanta. And no one could rely on him. 'From the first hour', writes another Catholic, 'that his years permitted him to converse with men, he has been tampering in broils and practices, betwixt friend and friend, man and wife, and, as his credit and craft increase, betwixt Prince and Prince.'<sup>1</sup> He resigned his foreign service in 1599. But for some time before that he had been in correspondence with Sir Robert Cecil, first offering to help in bringing about peace between England and Spain, and then suing for his own pardon from Elizabeth and the restoration of his forfeited property. Cecil mistrusted him, but allowed the ambassadors at Paris to use him as a source of information. Perhaps Sir Henry Lee did not know the exact position, for when, early in 1603, he got an appeal from his brother-in-law asking for his influence with the Queen, he sent it on to Cecil, thinking it unfit that he should keep unseen a letter from one who had been thought 'an evil deserver to the state and her Majesty'.<sup>2</sup> Like many other dishonest men, Paget came into his own at the change of reign. With his nephew William, who was a Protestant, he was restored in blood, recovered his lands, got a money grant from James, and died a well-to-do man in 1612.

Neither by conviction nor by temperament was Sir Henry Lee disposed to frequent such thorny ways. The fascination of the tilt and some tincture of letters attached him to the court, and he could not neglect the cult of his royal mistress or of the great patrons upon whom his favour depended. But his main interests were centred in his rangership of Woodstock, and Oxfordshire, rather

<sup>1</sup> *S.P.D.* cclxxi. 74.

<sup>2</sup> *H.* xii. 532, 633.







than his native Bucks, became now his home. Most of his letters are dated from Woodstock, where his headquarters were at the High Lodge in the park. And for many years he was busied with creating by various tenures a second territorial estate in the three Oxfordshire townships of Spelsbury, Charlbury, and Stonesfield. These lay adjacent to each other on the west and north-west of the Woodstock demesne, and partly within the royal forest of Wychwood or its purlieus. The centre of this estate was the manor of Ditchley, on which he had a report in 1581 from John Chamberlain of Claydon in Bucks, probably of the Shirburn family, and possibly the John Chamberlain who dwelt at Chaucer's house in Woodstock.<sup>1</sup> There were some 900 acres of arable and 326 of woodland. It was not good land. Lord Dillon says that it is not good land to-day. The sheep commons were overstocked and the woods damaged. Part was held by Mr. Gibbons and part by Mr. Pope. There was a house which Gibbons had on lease. The land was burdened with an annuity of £100 to the father of Gibbons. Chamberlain thought that £1,000 would be enough to give. Lee need not be in a hurry. He would not be overbid. Lee probably was in a hurry. In the same or the next year he bought the share of Thomas Gibbons and his wife Sibylla for £400, if a fine can be trusted, and in 1584 extinguished the annuity to William Gibbons.<sup>2</sup> Probably his purchase gave him the manorial rights. Ditchley, however, was only a subordinate manor, held under the manor of Spelsbury, which was itself held of the crown by successive tenants. For Spelsbury Lee was negotiating in 1575 with Francis Newdigate, a younger son of John Newdigate, of Harefield, Middlesex, who had it in the right of his wife, Anne Duchess of Somerset. Evidently he did not then secure it.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Dillon*, 70; *Notes*, G. 101.

<sup>2</sup> *Ditchley MSS.*; *Dillon Notes*, G. 101, 107; W. 137; *Oxf. Queen's MS.* 132, ff. 40, 99.

<sup>3</sup> *Ditchley MSS.*; *Nichols, Coll. Top. et Gen.* iii. 85; cf. p. 97.



His reversionary lease would take effect on the death of the Duchess in 1587. In 1599 the tenancy in chief was acquired by Sir John Fortescue of Salden, then Ranger of Wychwood Forest, and from him in the next year by Lee. For some reason Lee did not make the purchase in his own name, but in that of his brother Cromwell, from whom he took a bond to allow him enjoyment during Cromwell's lifetime and the reversion on his death.<sup>1</sup> Before and after this transaction Sir Henry rounded off his property by acquiring from Ralph Sheldon of Beoley some closes in and about Stonesfield, which Chamberlain had recommended to him as cheap, and picking up Coldron Mill and other freeholds in Spelsbury and its hamlet of Taston as they came into the market.<sup>2</sup> In 1593 he conveyed Ditchley to Richard Tredway of Beaconsfield, an Inner Temple lawyer, and John Poulter of Spelsbury as feoffees for the uses of his will.<sup>3</sup> In 1590 he also bought from Robert Chamberlain of Shirburn and Philip Scudamore of Burnham the residue of a lease of Abbots Wood in Charlbury, with some land on which he afterwards built a lodge known as Little Rest or Lee's Rest, and in 1592 he took or renewed a lease of the large manor of Charlbury from St. John's College, Oxford.<sup>4</sup> At some time before 1598 he also acquired from the crown ten coppices which lay in Charlbury, but were not part of the St. John's manor.<sup>5</sup>

In addition to his own resources Lee had obtained about 1576 a loan from the Queen of £3,000 repayable at the rate of £300 a year.<sup>6</sup> By March 1580 he had in fact repaid £600, but in later years we shall find more than one indication that this debt, with others, had brought him into considerable financial embarrassment.<sup>7</sup> It is not an unusual result of land hunger. Lee's purchases do not by themselves account for so large a sum,

<sup>1</sup> *S.P.D. Cal.* v. 294; *Dillon Notes*, G. 227, 235; W. 137, 173; cf. p. 38.

<sup>2</sup> *Dillon Notes*, G. 101, 227, 234; W. 137, 166.

<sup>3</sup> *Ditchley MSS.*

<sup>4</sup> *Dillon Notes*, G. 179; W. 166; Jordan, *Enstone*, 91, 116; cf. p. 220.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. pp. 215, 220.

<sup>6</sup> *S.P.D.* cxxxvi. 47.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. pp. 62, 110, 215.







but it is clear that he also replaced the old house at Ditchley by a new or enlarged one on an extensive scale. Of this there is some further evidence in a report from a Wychwood official in 1587 that the Shipton wood of the forest had contained in 1570 six hundred timber oaks worth 6s. 8d. each, which it was believed that the Queen had given to Sir Henry Lee, although the writer could find no warrant.<sup>1</sup> This house stood until 1722, when it was replaced by the present one, which was built by James Gibbs, the architect of the Radcliffe Camera at Oxford. The exact site of Lee's house is now unknown. John Evelyn describes it in 1664 as 'a low ancient timber house with a pretty bowling-green'.<sup>2</sup> Thomas Hearne, who visited it in 1718, could not tell how old it was, but thought it dated, as indeed it may in part have done, from the reign of Henry VIII.<sup>3</sup> But he also says, rather inconsistently:

Sir Henry Lee being a great Favourite of Queen Elizabeth, when he grew into Age, happened (as was usual with y<sup>t</sup> Queen, who loved Youth) to decline her Favours &, thereupon, settling in y<sup>e</sup> Country, he built this House on y<sup>e</sup> side of a Hill.

And again:

This old House is a very notable Thing, & I think I was never better pleas'd with any sight whatsoever than with this House, w<sup>ch</sup> hath been the Seat of Persons of true Loyalty & Virtue. The Front on the South side is very pretty, considering the Method of Building at that time.

And again:

Queen Elizabeth had a particular Delight in this Place. For which reason she used to stay here Weeks, nay, Months together. Here she used to hunt and enjoy herself.

He was shown her picture, two yards in length, agreeing, he thought, with the tradition that she was uncommonly tall, and her bed-chamber.

<sup>1</sup> V. J. Watney, *Cornbury*, 73.

<sup>2</sup> *Diary* (1906, ed. Bray), 266.

<sup>3</sup> T. Hearne, *Collections* (O.H.S.), vi. 136, 178, 185.



It is far from being large. The Bed is still preserved in w<sup>ch</sup> she lay; low, but decent, & agreeable enough to the Humour of this Queen, who affected Popularity, and tho' proud and imperious, yet would not seem to aim at high Things.

Hearne's tradition can hardly be relied upon in detail. There is no reason to suppose that Lee ever lost Elizabeth's favour. Nor does she seem ever to have spent any length of time at Ditchley. Her hunting was probably done in her own park at Woodstock. Lee, no doubt, came to think of himself as a hermit in his later years, but his building at Ditchley was probably done between his purchase of it about 1581 and the Queen's short visit of 1592. Hearne, indeed, saw that date upon a leaden spout of the house, and the Ditchley accounts record payments to workmen in that year.<sup>1</sup>

Much of Lee's time in Oxfordshire was usefully occupied by the duties of an active justice of the peace. These were multifarious. The justices, as their name indicates, were primarily keepers of the King's peace. They were responsible for the supervision of the parish constables and the quelling of riots. They signed warrants for the arrest of offenders, took recognisances for bail, issued precepts to the sheriff for the empanelling of juries. Trivial punishments they could inflict individually; other cases they dealt with in pairs, or in small district groups at a petty sessions; and the gravest they committed to periodical quarter sessions held for the county as a whole, or to the itinerant High Court judges at assizes. Such functions, with the help of a more efficient body of police, their successors exercise to-day. But in the infancy of local government the justices were also charged with many duties which were administrative rather than judicial in character, and had arisen under the growing social and ecclesiastical legislation of the Tudors. They had to see that fortifications, highways, and bridges were duly kept up; to license tippling-

<sup>1</sup> *Dillon Notes*, G. 148.





houses and stage-players, and to act as censors of their plays; to fix wages and prices; to bind apprentices; to enforce the laws relating to vagrancy, poor-rates, and enclosures, and many minor matters affecting public well-being. Above all, they had to keep a sharp watch upon religious recusants and upon the treasons which recusancy often brought in its train. Finally, they were often called upon to assist the Lord-Lieutenant of their county in his military responsibilities, and for this purpose their normal commission of appointment under the Great Seal was generally supplemented by separate commissions for musters or for levies. Much was inevitably left to their discretion, but they were themselves not entirely free from control. They received instructions through the Lord-Lieutenant or the judges of assize. They were liable to be punished by the Star Chamber for any neglect of duty. And above all there was the powerful Privy Council, constantly in receipt of information as to local or family disputes, and often dealing with these by mandates to trusted justices, for investigation or composition in the interests of peace and equity. This arbitral jurisdiction of the Privy Council is one of the most interesting features in the Tudor polity. Lee appears to have been a man on whose energy and discretion the Privy Council could rely, and his name often occurs in their minutes or in the papers of the Secretary of State, who was one of their leading members. On 22 April 1580 Lee and other justices wrote to ask that a separate commission of musters might be issued for New Woodstock.<sup>1</sup> In December of the same year there was a muster of horses in Oxfordshire, probably in order to supply the troops engaged in quelling the rebellion of the Earl of Desmond in Ireland. Lord Norris of Rycote, who was then Lord-Lieutenant, reports that Lee and others are unable to act as his deputies, and asks that new ones may be appointed.<sup>2</sup> Lee may have been busy about his

<sup>1</sup> *S.P.D.* cxxxvii. 43.

<sup>2</sup> *S.P.D.* cxliv. 53.



new office as Master of the Armoury. On 8 April 1586 he was put on a commission for a levy of volunteers for service in the Netherlands.<sup>1</sup> For these the Earl of Leicester, who was in command of the English forces there, had long been pressing, but Elizabeth was so much annoyed at his acceptance without her sanction of the government of the States, that she had refused to allow them to be raised. In April she yielded, but in May she said that enough had gone, and stopped the levy. Lee's letter of 23 February 1587 to Walsingham shows that he had contemplated joining the Earl in person; it is unlikely that he did, and in September, having accomplished little, Leicester himself returned home.<sup>2</sup>

Other occasions for Lee's services arose out of the constantly recurring problem of enclosures. On 3 March 1577 the Privy Council considered a petition from a number of townships in the wooded region about Brill, on the borders of Oxfordshire and Bucks, which had formed part of Bernwood Forest. It was a case of the enclosure of manor waste. The areas affected were the woodlands of Stonehurst and Quarters, the latter of which covered some 2,000 acres. In these traditional grazing rights were claimed by inhabitants of Stanton St. John, Studley, Horton, and Waterperry in Oxfordshire, and Brill, Ludgershall, Dorton, Oakley, Wotton, and Worminghall in Bucks. The enclosers were Vincent Curson of Waterperry, John Dynham of Boarstall manor in Oakley, and Richard Leigh who held the Tyrrell manor of Oakley in right of his wife. The Council noted that 'the matter seemeth very fowle and tendeth to the grete wrong and hate of a grete number of people pore, derely relieved by the comodite and libertie thereof, which as they are informed they have enjoyed tyme out of minde'. The Sheriff of Oxfordshire was directed to call upon the lords of the manors either to lay the lands open again or to appear and make answer before the

<sup>1</sup> Dasent, xiv. 56.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. p. 62.







Council. On 15 and 16 April Curzon and Dynham did so appear, but apparently their answer was not satisfactory, for on 18 April the Council returned to the matter. A second petition was now before them, reciting further enclosures in Bernardes Lawn, Bledlowes Bagge, King's Wood, and the Upper and Lower Rushbeddes, where had been 'common for their beastes and cattell above the memory of man'. Evidently the Council saw a possibility of considerable mischief in the case, since they dealt with it by the appointment of a formal commission under the Great Seal, with the Earl of Bedford at its head, and Lee among six out of the twelve members who were to be of the quorum. They were instructed to meet at Thame on 3 June, and either 'compound and end the matter in some frindeliē sorte, yf it may be' or certify their Lordships with a view to further action. The glimpses which State papers give us of social life are always tantalizing, and we do not know the outcome. But there were certainly further enclosures in the neighbourhood during the next few years.<sup>1</sup> Still less has reached us of a second affair of 3 February 1578, when the Council directed Lee and other justices of Bucks to investigate a complaint of the Lady Williams of Thame against rioters who asserted common rights in coppices belonging to the forest of Burwood. Again they are to make a final end agreeable to justice, if possible. Failing this, they must call a jury, and if they find the offenders 'to be of any multitude, or such as may breed further trouble', return a verdict, by advice of the Queen's counsel, to the Star Chamber. I am not quite clear where Burwood was. Lady Williams, although she kept her rank, was the wife in 1578 of Sir William Drury. She may have had rights in Burghfield, Berks, from her first husband. But Lee is not normally concerned with Berks. Possibly Burwood was Burwey Common in Sonning, which lies partly in Berks and partly in Oxfordshire; and conceivably this

<sup>1</sup> Dasent, ix. 296, 323; *V.H. Bucks.* iv. 9.



was once an outlier of Bernwood Forest, although it is rather far to the south.<sup>1</sup> On 23 September 1590 Lee had employment nearer home. Two years before, one Nicholas Crane had been murdered near Witney, and now Edward Crane and Henry Jackson thought that they were on the track of the felons. Lee was called upon to investigate. His colleagues were his brother Cromwell, William Spencer of Yarnton, and Walter Culpepper.<sup>2</sup> This last was a scion of an old Kent family, who had acquired property at Hanborough in Oxfordshire. His brass of 1616 is still in Hanborough Church, with other family monuments, one of which probably belongs to an 'old Mother Culpepper', who once haunted the village lanes, but is now laid at rest in a pond. It is probably the same unquiet spirit, who was said to open a gate for passers-by on the old 'way', now only a track across the fields, between Hanborough and Eynsham.<sup>3</sup> Hard on this commission came another of a very different type, requiring intervention in the domestic affairs of the Broome family of Holton in Oxfordshire. Sir Christopher Broome was lately dead, and dissension had arisen between his widow Eleanor, a daughter of William Lord Windsor of Stanwell, and her son George, who was the heir. She could not get her jointure lands, and, moreover, George had slandered her as 'a receavour and harborer of persons daungerous to the state'. Incidentally one may note that George Broome himself had been suspected of sedition at the time of the Babington plot in 1586. Probably the family were Catholics. Once more the instruction to Lee and others is to bring about an agreement in accordance with 'justice and equitie', if they can, and if not, to advertise their lordships that they may take further order.<sup>4</sup> It is a good example of the paternal administration of the Tudor Priuy Council.

<sup>1</sup> Dasent, x. 155; *V.H. Berks.* iii. 211, 223.

<sup>2</sup> Dasent, xix. 458.

<sup>3</sup> *Harl. Soc.* xlii. 61; *Parochial Collections* (Oxf. Rec. Soc.), 159; *Folk-Lore*, xxiv. 84.

<sup>4</sup> Dasent, xiv. 210, 213; xx. 36; *Harl. Soc.* v. 229.







Public affairs, however, left Lee time to occupy himself with those of his own family. We do not know that he was concerned with the madness of Henry Cheyne, the youngest son of his sister Joyce, which was reported to Lord Burghley by William Fleetwood, the Recorder of London in 1584.<sup>1</sup> But it appears to have been mainly in the interests of another nephew, Owen, the son of Lettice Cooke, that he acquired the Constableness of the Castle of Harlech in Wales. About this he wrote, in a time of ill health and financial perplexity, to Walsingham.<sup>2</sup>

Sir, to whom I accownt my sellfe moste bownde. Immedyatly after my last waytynge on you as a moste vnfortunat man and forced by necessitye, I came hither to a small corner and quiet of my brotheres ii mylles from Hatfelde, wher att my request he is content to lyve, and iii dayes after my aryvinge here, I fell sycke of a contynuall fever which held me xxii dayes, and hath brought me excedynge wecke, as to men, not born to good, evell happes goo never vnaccompened, but that which I cane not amende, by the grace of hym that gydes all, I wyll quyetyly indeure to satysfy her magestie and the worlde to whom I am in dette, and to mak tyme ether the helper of me, or the ender of me, a phesysyon that wyll cure as well the happy as wreched att the laste. I wryte thys muche because you shall vnderstand my esstat wher I am, and wher to fynd me if her magestie inquyre and you commande me yf I may doo you servys. Sir, I have bene oft scyck and longe or thys dede yf the helpe of doctor Atslowe had not bene. Yf his esstat or her magestys favowre to me were such that he myght be suffered to come to me for a whylle I shoulde the better be clered of the drages of my dyssease, she the lengger contynue her trewe and faythefull owlde servant that wyll serve her with my prayers when other ways I can not showe better frutes of my desyer, and thys parformed, I wyll be bownde, he shall retorne, yf soo yt be her pleasuer, unto the place wher nowe he is. I have bowght of Sir Antone Sturley, as I acqwaynted you with all, and by the favour and furthrance of my lorde tresorer, the keypyng of a castell of hir magestys in Walles which cost me dear. I

<sup>1</sup> T. Wright, *Eliz. and her Times*, ii. 230.

<sup>2</sup> *Harl. MS.* 286; f. 100; J. Tomlinson, *Hatfield Chase*, 160.



growe owlde, my yeres ar many, and rather ment yt (with the grace of her magestie) to the good of a nevewe of myne who I have browght vppe and mucche love, and is better able to serve her, then to my sellfe, wherfore I vmbly beseche you, to be a mene to her magestie sommwhat for my comfort, to juyne him in pattent with me, that my sisters sonne may supply my place when god shall call me awaye. His name is Owen Couke, very honest, and one I love much. Yf her magestie denye me thys small favoure, I may ryghtfully wyshe I had never delt with all. For my own lyfe I wolde not geve one quarter of thate I have payed, but thus much dyd I presume of her most gracyous goodnes for the bennefyte of her poure toun ther and her tennants. My vmblye sut is that yt wyll please her to grawnt them an other markett and fayre, only for the relyfe of them that hath gret nede ther of I desyre yt. Sir, I wolde be glade hereafter as I see cause, and have more strength and tyred with many other inconvenyences to have leve to goo over to see my lorde of Lessyter, ther to staye or retorn as I thynk good or as yt shall please her magestie, from tyme to tyme, to commande me, never tarryynge att any one tyme, above ii monthes. This Sir dowe I mak my mone to you, hope in you, and troble you, for which I can doo you no gratfull servys, for which I am sorry, for if I cowlde, or may, I wyll, and so I beseche you to commande me, with which I vmbly take my leve, from Thourne, the xxiii of February,

Yours vmblye to commande, Henry Lee.

The letter is endorsed '24 ffebruarie 1586', which would be 1587 in modern reckoning. Leicester was then in England, but had been 'over', as Governor of the United Provinces, from December 1585 to September 1586, and no doubt Lee expected him to be over again, as in fact he was from June to November 1587. Sir Anthony Strelley was of Strelley in Nottinghamshire.<sup>1</sup> A joint grant of the constableness of Harlech was made to Lee and Cooke on 5 February 1589.<sup>2</sup> Probably Cooke, rather than Lee, exercised the duties. In 1592 Lee was also mayor of the town. But he describes himself as 'a

<sup>1</sup> *Harl. Soc.* iv. 21.

<sup>2</sup> *S.P.D.* ccxxii. 60.







stranger among them' in a letter of 1592 to Sir Robert Cecil, which urges that the assizes ought to be held in Harlech, since the castle served as the county jail. The Privy Council directed the Justices of Assize to consider the claim, and Lee was still urging his suit in 1593. In 1600 the joint constables asked for consent to the transfer of their office to Lee's brother Sir Richard, but apparently without success.<sup>1</sup> In 1604 Harlech had not yet secured its assizes, and when Ralph Lord Eure was appointed constable in 1611 it was as successor to Sir Henry, of whom a friend wrote, 'God be with him, and forgeve him the wronge and hindrance he did the poore towne'.<sup>2</sup> Giles Symonds of Clay, the husband of yet another of Lee's sisters, had been engaged in shipping ventures with ill success, and for him Lee begged of Burghley in 1590 a licence to transport corn of his own growing from Yarmouth to Marseilles or Toulouse.<sup>3</sup> There were friends also to be considered. About 1583 Lee was thought of as a possible arbitrator in a dispute about the lease of Cainhoe in Bedfordshire between Robert and Thomas Newdigate, probably of the family of that name at Hawnes in the same county.<sup>4</sup> In 1587 one Samuel Cox of Fulbrook in Oxfordshire, who was secretary to Sir Christopher Hatton, writes reproaching Lee with some unkindness after five years' intercourse.<sup>5</sup> In the same year he was involved, apparently as a trustee for a member of the Fisher family, in litigation about some charges on the Warwickshire manors of Wormleighton and Bishop's Itchington, and the matter was not finally cleared up until 1605.<sup>6</sup> More important is Lee's intervention in the tangled affairs of the Talbots. George Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, had long been the mainstay

<sup>1</sup> H. iv. 301; x. 180; xiii. 467; Dasent, xxii. 255.

<sup>2</sup> *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, i. 259, 266.

<sup>3</sup> *S.P.D.* ccxxxiii. 84.

<sup>4</sup> *S.P.D.* clxv. 74; *V.H. Beds.* ii. 322; *Harl. Soc.* xix. 185.

<sup>5</sup> N. H. Nicolas, *Mems. of Hatton*, App. xxxvii.

<sup>6</sup> *S.P.D.* cxcix. 84; *Proc. in Chancery* (Rec. Comm.), ii. 148; *Lansd. MS.* lxxv. 65; *Dillon Notes*, W. 129.



of Elizabeth's power in the north. We are not concerned with the troubles arising out of his keepership of Mary Queen of Scots, and only indirectly with the enduring feud between him and the masterful Bess of Hardwick, whose fourth husband he was. But this by 1584 had brought him into conflict with his son and heir, Gilbert Lord Talbot, who had married Bess's daughter, Mary Cavendish, and took his mother-in-law's part. Talbot had made some figure at court, and hoped for advancement there. But he was of combative temper, his wife was extravagant, and he was much in debt. 'He hath been a costly child to me', said the Earl. His uncle, Roger Manners, an old Esquire of the Body to the Queen, did his best to act as mediator. Once, indeed, the debts were paid, but they grew again, and so did the friction. In the autumn of 1586 Roger Manners effected another reconciliation, and for some months father and son were on friendly terms. Presents were exchanged, and plans made for securing a reversion of the Earl's offices in the north to Talbot.<sup>1</sup> But the Earl professed himself unable to face any more debts. If Talbot would so govern his wife 'as her pomp and court-like manner of life was some deal assuaged', all would be well; and he seems to have suggested that his son should leave London and join him in the country.<sup>2</sup> Sir Henry Lee was a friend of both parties. As far back as 1577 he had paid a visit to the Earl at Buxton.<sup>3</sup> And to him Talbot now turned for help. Lee undertook a mission, and in the autumn of 1587 had to report its failure. Writing from Hatfield in Yorkshire on 15 July, he describes an interview with the Earl at Worksop.<sup>4</sup> He had taken with him a letter from Talbot, but thought it best not to show it to the Earl. He had dwelt upon his friend's good parts, which were

<sup>1</sup> *Rutland MSS.* i. 166, 168, 169, 185, 195, 204, 213; Lodge, App. 54, 55; cf. p. 67.

<sup>2</sup> Lodge, ii. 302.

<sup>3</sup> J. Hunter, *Hallamshire* (1869), 115.

<sup>4</sup> *Coll. of Arms, Talbot MS. G*, p. 359.







shadowed by a lack of funds, but the Earl, although he admitted the good parts, was not to be moved. Talbot had spent £20,000 and was carried away from his fatherly counsel, when he ought to be his companion in his elder years. Lee, however, would try again. On 13 August he wrote from Letwell, reporting, not without some evident delight in his own diplomacy, a second visit to the Earl at Sheffield.<sup>1</sup>

Dinner donn, and all ryssyn savyng his Lordshipe and my poure sellf, I towld him I had wrytten to you, accordynge to his lyberté gevin me upon shuch talk as his Lordshipe had last with me at Worsoppe; that I receved an aunswere which then I presented unto him. I left him alone, M<sup>r</sup> Harry Tabote, Roger Portyngton, your very good frende, with mysellf, standynge at the wyndowe; where I, that knew the sundry contentes of the letter, myghte see any alteracyon in hem sellf, as they that stude by immagyned by his syths, wherby gessed according to there umoures. Your letter parused (and well marked, as yt dyd well appare unto me by his speches immediately after) rysyng from the borde, with more cullowre in his chekes then ordynary, he ledd me by the hand into his withdrawynge chamber, wher he towlde me he dyd well perseve the contentes of your letter; that you had bene longe a dysso-bedyent chylde unto hem; that you joyned and practysed agaynst hem, and with shuche as sowte his overthrowe, and, concyquently, your owne undoinge, and the spyalls and partys you hade in his howse dyd showe your care to be more for that he hade then hemselfe; but, withall, he knewe you had many good parts, but thos over rewled by others that shold be better governed by your sellf: More regarde, he sayth, to your owlde father wold doo well; who hathe bene ever lovyng unto you, and must be requited with more love and obedience, or ells (by his devynacion) your credyt wyll slowly increse. He is glad, as he sayth, that you lyve in thos partes (but he speaketh *irronia*) wheresome good may be lerned, but more to be shunned; yet all well wher grace is, so yow be able to go thurrow with all; but for the fedyng of shuch vayne tyme and superfluous excres as shold doo best for your sellfe to demynyshe, he is not able,

<sup>1</sup> Lodge<sup>1</sup>, ii. 343.



he sayth, and I fere wyll never be wylling, to mayntayne. He reckenyd how many had bene in hande with hem for the payinge of your detes; my L. Tresorer, and otheres. His aunswere was that, thurrowe the wyllfulness of his, that shunned his advyce, and the imperfeccions of others, his undoyng shoulde not growe, that they themselfes myght have cause to pittie hem in his age, thurrow his folly and ther perswasions. There, my Lorde, he towlde that iii thousande poundes yerely wente owt of hes lyvyng to his chyldren, and many other somes to small purpos to remember. He confessed he sent you suche a letter as you wryte of, and wrytten by a man of his, but altogether by his dyrectyon: That he was owlde, lame of the gowte, and now no more able to wryte himsellfe: He spake mucche of your unconstancé in your frendesheppes, and specyally to my L. of Lessyter; sometymes, as you favowred, there was not shuche; and labored himsellfe to rely more upon hem, altogether myslykyng shuche umours as favored and dysfavored in shuche sorte, and in so short a tyme; but, for hemsellfe, he wold fly such varyeté, and parforme his frendship and faythe. Trewly, my Lorde, he used many of thes speches before I interrupted hem, and good reson I had to forbere, for he spake not withowt grefe, as I gesse, and passyon, I am sure, therefore thought best to staye untill the storme was somewhat overblown. Att the last I besout hem to tell me whether thes owld greves were not remitted upon conference betwene yourselves; and whether your abode there was not with hes good allowance, that you shulde procure yoursellfe to be joyned with hem in hes offyces; further, that you shoulde, by good meanes, procure some honorable ofyce for your better understandyng. All this he did not denye, but towchyng his dyscourse, I thynk not fet to sett them downe, my messenger is so uncertaine, and my meanyng to do good, if I may, but no hurte. He is owlde and unwyldy, and dysceyved by shuche he trustethe, and you shunne to assyst hem, and therefore wyll lett owt all; butt that I beleve not. I fownd one thyng in your letter, I sayde, that I mucche fered, and made me sory; that your favoring so mucche your own credyt, and fyndyge so small menes to aunswere your credytors, you myght fall into some hard course: and before thes wordes were all out of my mowthe, he sayde, 'Yea marry, some desperacyon'. There upon I took







houlde; 'Good my Lord, lycence me to speke, with your favoure, that speakethe nothyng by practys for gayne, but thurrow a dewtyfull mynde to you, now in yeares, and for youres, by cownseil of nature lykely to succede you. If he shoulde, as you have tearmed it, take any dysperat race; passe into thos partes which thys doughtfull tyme bryngeth to many dangeres, and spesyally to our nacion; were not his perrell grete, and by presumption, not to be recovered? You can not be ignorant, for all your myslyke, what a sone you have; esteemed of the highest, favored of the beste, and the beste jugementes, and howe much he dyffereth from other men's sones of your owne condycyone; so much your love, care, and regarde, shoulde be the more, by howe much your losse were more (to be ballensed with reson) then all the rest put together: Your contry may and wyll challenge a parte and party in hem, as a wyse man, fyt and able to serve it: You yet fynde not what a Lord Tabote you have; but if he shoulde by any extraordinary accydence be taken from you, and not to be recovered, your selfe, with your grete, wolde accompané your whyte haires to your end with a grave full of cares; and who dothe soner enter into dysperacyon than grete wytts accompanied with myghty and honorable hartes, which hardely can away with wante, but never with dyscredyte?' Thys, my L. sownke somewhat into hem: He confessed muche of thys: He mused longe and spake lyttell: He staied, standyng longe, withowte complainyng of his leggs (bie reson he was earnest) one ower and a halfe at the leste before we parted. So in many dowtes I left him.

He will not, he adds, undertake to advise Talbot, but suggests that a sudden journey to see his father might be profitable. Evidently, however, Talbot preferred to negotiate by deputy, for on 6 September the Earl wrote to Lee, acknowledging the receipt of a letter from his son which Lee had forwarded to him, but once more maintaining his resolution and detailing his grievances.<sup>1</sup> To Lee himself he is complimentary.

Yett (notwithstandyng his doutefull words of your welcome heddar, in respect you have movyd me for his good) I beseche

<sup>1</sup> Lodge<sup>1</sup>, ii. 353.



you cum tenne tymes for every one paste; assuring you the most eloquent oratorr in England can doo no more with me than you have, tyll I perseve a newe corse.

A flattered Lee then paid a third visit, and on this occasion secured a direct reply to Talbot, which he took south with him and on 13 September forwarded from Fulbrook in Bucks, where he was on his way to Oxfordshire.<sup>1</sup> It had been written, he says, with much more pain than the Earl had used of late. He can now only leave Talbot to his own wisdom, 'wher of or which the fawltes are, I cannot dycuse, but if all fawtes were amended, yt wolde not longe be thus'. Finally, on 15 October, he reports from Letwell a fourth visit to Sheffield, on which he had carried Talbot's reply.<sup>2</sup> He had found the Earl well disposed towards his son. Although still wishing to have him in the country, he had inquired as to his prospects at court. Of these Lee had made the most, adding that debts were inevitable when a man was minded to win the hearts of others, as in this doubtful world was necessary. Talbot's were nothing to those of the Earl of Derby's son, Lord Strange, for where Talbot 'tryfelyngly owed a pound, the other was in dette more than w<sup>t</sup>owt a yeardome he cowde hardly dyscharge'. Then he assured the Earl that Talbot left himself wholly in the hands of God to perform all dutiful offices to his father, and dwelt upon the need for securing the reversions of the posts under the crown. And he hinted that, warmly as he now spoke on Talbot's behalf, he was risking his own standing with his friend, by taking a clean contrary course in discussion with him. The conference had been somewhat hampered by Lee's anxiety that it should not be overheard by others who were present, and whom he believed to be no well-wishers to Talbot. Probably the allusion is to a certain Eleanor Britton, under whose domination the Earl in his old age had fallen.

<sup>1</sup> *Talbot MS. G*, p. 367.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 370.







Lee's embassy seems now at last to have been successful, since for the next two years there was peace between father and son. There is no hint of any dispute in a flowery letter of advice for his future conduct, which Lee sent to Talbot on 8 June 1589, together with a buck from Woodstock to 'my noble lady' and a doe, 'shuch a one as at thys tyme of the yere I have never sene ether here or else where', to be presented to the Queen.<sup>1</sup> In 1590 some fresh trouble had arisen, and another uncle, John Manners of Haddon, was attempting to bring about a fresh reconciliation.<sup>2</sup> On 18 November of the same year the old Earl died, and Gilbert Talbot reigned in his stead. Some return for his good offices Sir Henry had a right to expect, and he was not slow to ask for it.<sup>3</sup> On 7 December he writes:

My very good lord, goddes wyll and the course of nature must and wyll have ther force, and we his inferyor creatures obeye therunto. Synce I wayted upon you, the heyest power hathe taken your noble father and my most honorable and rare frend, whyche cane not be helped with sorrow or lamentynge. Therefore wysdome techeth us in shuch cases to lowke to the comfortes that age and godes blessinges leveth behynde, when his myghtly wyll is to have them. He is not dede withowt memoryall and a pycture of hem self, & to possess longe and increse much the gretnes and glory of so noble a howse, to doo good to many, the pryvelege that men have of grete fortune, to defend your contry, with many other ayedes and dewtyes to the same, and faythfully to serve and mayntayne your soverayne, ower most gracyus lady, to whom I come nowe after the ⟨rest?⟩ to lett you know howe much your lordshepe is specyally bounde. Gretter courtyers hathe more att large informed you. Among the reste you are not lest behowldynge to Mr vyce chamberlayne, of whose good and honorable speche of you your frendes dayly, as well in pryvate as publyke and not in the menest compene, my ears hathe bene wytnes therof. The world sayes (which is as owld as trewe) that, as you

<sup>1</sup> *Talbot MS. G*, p. 465.

<sup>2</sup> *Rutland MSS. i.* 281.

<sup>3</sup> *Talbot MS. H*, p. 211.



nowe are, you can want no frendes of the assureste sorte, of whych compene I secretly reckon myselfe, and so I hope your lordshepe certaynely accounteth of me.

When I last wayted of my lord your father and your lordshepe att Sheffelde, yt plesed hem to promys me the lone of fyve hundred poundes, of whyche by your lordshepes furtherance I receved tow hundred att Hollow rood day <Sept. 4> laste paste att the Sherfeld fayre, and nowe att crysmas nere att hande, I should have hadde the reste, god hathe called him away. I am lothe to be combersome to you, yet I must tell you trewe the hope of that munney, whyche I so much bylte on, made me take some groundes in to my handes, whyche is now lyke to turn to my hurte. Wherefore in as fyttte sorte as I may I beseach your lordshepe, if you may without your preiudysshe, parforme the honorable menynynge of your father, for whych I wyll acknollage myself gretly bownd, and I delyver for intereste my beste servys in all I may. For bond (if yt soe please you) you shall have, as your father hadde, mysellfe and my brother bownde, and if your wyll be soo, I wyll wayte upon your lordshepe myself att what tyme and in what place yt shall please you to appoynte. Youre awnswer I umbly crave. Thus I have combred your lordshepe with many wordes, referrynge the effect of them to your lordesheppes frendly and favorable concytheracyon, besechyng god ever to blesse you, & to send my noble lady grete joye and contentednes & a well plesynge sone to delyght you bothe and comfort your frendes. And so I umbly take my leve from Woodstock, the 7 of Desember, 1590.

I do not know whether Lee got his loan. His application must have been made at an unfortunate moment. The imposing Shrewsbury estate proved to have been much wasted. There was little more money, wrote Roger Manners to his brother John, than would pay for the funeral. And later he reports:<sup>1</sup>

You know that the late Erl of Shrewsberie was accounted for cattell, corne, woll, leade, yorne, landes, revenew and of redy mony the greatest and only rych subject of England. Yet now

<sup>1</sup> *Rutland MSS.* i. 284, 285.







he is ded he was so poure as no executor will take opon him to performe his will, and the Erl that now is, the pourest that ever was of that name.

In similar vein Earl Gilbert himself lamented to Lord Burghley.<sup>1</sup> The trouble was in part due to the rapacity of Eleanor Britton and a nephew, who had embezzled much in his father's lifetime, and carried away even more during the hours of his last illness. He intended a prosecution for felony, which Burghley, perhaps fearing a scandal, seems to have deprecated. It was awkward for Lee that in the Britton affair his name got mixed up, but this sort of thing does sometimes happen when you wish to stand well with all the world. It had been reported to Earl Gilbert that Lee was prepared to bear witness that he had given permission to Mrs. Britton in his father's lifetime to take and sell from him what she could. An anxious letter of deprecation from Lee followed on 12 June 1591. He had never in his life had any conference with Mrs. Britton of which Earl Gilbert was not aware. The report was a perversion of something he had said to Lady Stafford, one of the Queen's ladies, at Theobalds, which was no more than the Earl himself had told him, that if Mrs. Britton behaved well, he would suffer her to enjoy such things, being but leases and the like, as his father should bestow upon her in his lifetime. To Mrs. Britton herself there had been no promise. Once more he protests his fidelity to his friend.<sup>2</sup>

Your lordeshepe, I hope, will make a differance betwyne shuche as wryt and spicke in regarde of one thyng and in respect of another, and me that have never regarded any thinge but your love and good opynyon, and if I have not deserved that, my lorde, the fawlte is not in me, never levying any dewty unperformed wherin I myght show my good wyll or doo your lordshepe servys. Of my lady Stafford to thys ower more then wronges and injurys I never receved anythyng.

<sup>1</sup> H. iv. 112.

<sup>2</sup> *Talbot MS. H*, p. 299.



A final letter of 21 June suggests that the Earl had professed himself satisfied, and the assurances of service and hopes of patronage are renewed.<sup>1</sup>

Your father by his spesyall favoure tyed me; and shall I loose my selfe from his sonne, who the worlde hathe grete expectasyon of, and I perswede my sellf to have som interest in? Yt was never my meninge, and I knowe treuthe wyll never hynder your better love and jugementc bothe of me and all the worlde.

But in the upshot Earl Gilbert's own thwart character barred all hopes of greatness. Much of his time was spent in quarrels with his family, his neighbours, and his tenants, and in the next reign he died, heirless and unconsidered. In Lee's life, so far as records go, he seems to have played no part after this correspondence.

Lee's frequent visits to the north in 1587 were not wholly concerned with the offices of friendship. He was now to have his last taste of military service. The Armada was in prospect, and the uncertainty at Westminster as to the attitude of James of Scotland made a landing in that country, as a base for an invasion of England, seem a possible contingency. Lord Hunsdon was sent to strengthen the fortifications of Berwick, and the Earl of Huntingdon, then President of the North, was instructed to muster and train local levies for the defence of the Border. Lee, who already had some experience of this district, was evidently interested. His letter to Lord Talbot in October mentions an intended visit to see Newcastle, and perhaps Berwick, and on 3 December he was appointed to assist Huntingdon as General of the Horse.<sup>2</sup> He seems at once to have returned to the north to take up his duties. On 1 January 1588 he was with the Earl of Derby at Knowsley.<sup>3</sup> On 13 May he joined Huntingdon at Doncaster.<sup>4</sup> Lord Dillon says

<sup>1</sup> Lodge<sup>1</sup>, iii. 29.

<sup>2</sup> *Cal. Border Papers*, i. 289; *Savile Foljambe MSS.* (H.M.C.), 47.

<sup>3</sup> F. R. Raines, *Derby Household Books* (Chetham Soc.), 46.

<sup>4</sup> *Cal. Border Papers*, i. 323.







that, when the Armada actually arrived in July, he was on his back with the gout at his brother Robert's house of Hatfield, but this statement must, I think, rest on a misdating of the letter to Walsingham in February 1587.<sup>1</sup> It is certainly not consistent with the following, also written to Walsingham, from Sheffield on 28 July 1588.<sup>2</sup>

S<sup>r</sup>, I understande by my ld. presydent by advyses to my ld. of Srouesborry, allso some advertysments to my sellf, of shuch thynges as hath hitherto happily happend, upon the sees, agayne that the fyght & chase contynwith styll, and how longe god knowes, the wether, if it ryce, may be a spidy helpe to our good. The duk of Parma, I praceve, howldeth his determynacyon for London and the prynce pall partes of our rallme. I am her as yt wer a syfer in awgrome, Idoll, I disyer to be sett a work, no more a loker on, in so generall a nede, and spicyally, her ma<sup>ti</sup> safty growynge in dowl, and quistyon. Bisydes, your forces draw towardes thes partes, and by the deferryng shuch necessary provysyons as ar to be wysshed for, for thys contry, that here is, the lesse fear, to be hadde. Wherfor, I most humbly beseche you, that if yt stande w<sup>t</sup> your lykyng, her ma<sup>ti</sup> may be moved, and that I may know your wyll, and dyscresyon, absolutely, what her ma<sup>ti</sup> will have me doo, and that wher most nede and perell is, I may be imploy'd, presently; by lande, or see, all one to mee, my boddy (God be thanked) never better, in younger years never lustyear, nor my mynde never warmer, to prove my sellf as becommeth me, and otheres ner may se & folloe, and that I leve to her to Juge. To morrow, I wyll be att York w<sup>t</sup> my ld. presydent, ther staye, untill I hear agayne, most humbly besechyng you, that yt may be w<sup>t</sup> some spede. Regarde me S<sup>r</sup> as one that lyeth at your fete, that wyssheth for mence to mayntayn and increse (the rather by y<sup>or</sup> helpe) the credyt, and reputacyon of a truwe, faythefull, and honeste man. If your wyshe be to have me repayre upp, then that my cossyn Jhone Lee may some way understand, that I wolde have shuche armores staye ther, as I have appoynted to be sent hither to me. My horses ar in one place, my saddelles, furnytur, and armore, in an other, and my sellf, in the thurde; none other w<sup>t</sup> compéné or pryvat, her or else wher, as yt shall

<sup>1</sup> Dillon, 71; cf. p. 62.

<sup>2</sup> *S.P.D.* ccxiii, 56, f. 133.



please you to dyrecte me, none more wyllinge, nor of my sort more reddy, of all thynges, one excepted; and so I most humbly tak my leve frō Shiffild the xxviij July 1588.

The Armada was driven into the North Sea on 30 July, but the danger of a landing in Scotland was not removed until 5 August, when James, tempted by the promise of an annuity of £5,000, which he never got, declared himself on Elizabeth's side, and ordered levies in Scotland to repel an invasion. Lee had taken the Durham musters with Huntingdon on 12 August and sent a report to the Privy Council of the equipment required. When the tension was relaxed he followed this by a note as to those to whom thanks ought to be sent for their meritorious services. They included John Vavasour of Yorkshire, and Lee's brother Robert, who had been one of the leaders of the Yorkshire horsemen.<sup>1</sup> Robert Lee had married Jane, daughter of Edward Restwold of The Vache, Bucks, and widow of Sir Francis Hastings of Fenwick. He was now settled at Hatfield, near Doncaster in Yorkshire, where he had succeeded Hastings as Keeper of the Game in the royal Chase, of which the Earl of Shrewsbury was Surveyor. Probably he had been at Hatfield since 1562, when he acquired a lease of the parsonage, in which Sir Henry was later joined with him. Here, and at his other houses of Thorne, Letwell, and Dunscroft in the same neighbourhood, his brother stayed with him when in the north.<sup>2</sup> Robert was not a very reputable personage. In December 1585 Burghley made a note for the Queen that letters should be sent for him to Edwin Sandys, Archbishop of York. But in October 1587 Sandys reported that Robert was not fit to be a justice of peace.

He is a notable open adulterer. One that giveth great offence,

<sup>1</sup> *Cal. Border Papers*, i. 324, 329, 331, 332.

<sup>2</sup> *1 Misc. Gen. and Her.* ii. 134; J. Hunter, *South Yorks.* i. 156, 176; J. Tomlinson, *Hatfield Chase*, 63; *H.* ii. 81; *Browne Willis MS.* xlix. 12, 18; *Dillon Notes*, G. 75<sup>v</sup>, 113, 221, from Patent Rolls.







and will not be reformed. He useth his authority as well to work private displeasure as to serve other mens tournes. A very bad man, and one that doth no good. Better put out than kept in.

Nevertheless Robert Lee was still a justice of peace in 1588.<sup>1</sup>

Was Sir Henry Lee himself to go unrewarded? Surely not. In 1589 the rich mastership of the hospital of Sherburn House in Durham fell vacant. Elizabeth nominated Lee for the preferment. He was a layman, but she was Supreme Head of the Church, and would give him a dispensation for the purpose. Matthew Hutton, Bishop of Durham, protested bitterly. He had already appointed his own nephew, Robert Hutton of Trinity College, Cambridge, who had then made an exchange with Robert Bellamy for a benefice and prebend in Durham. But the Queen was 'nothing satisfied'. Hutton must see Lee and compound with him. Again the issue eludes us. No Master is recorded between Bellamy in 1589 and Thomas Murry in 1608. But the chances are that Lee had to be bought off.<sup>2</sup>

Lee's activities in the north during 1587 did not prevent him from being with the court at Greenwich when Sir Jerome Horsey returned from a mission to Russia, bringing with him presents for the Queen, and among them some hawks, which she commanded Sir Henry and the Earl of Cumberland to take charge of and give good account of them.<sup>3</sup> In 1588 died the Earl of Leicester, Lee's old patron, and in 1590 Sir Francis Walsingham and Leicester's brother, the Earl of Warwick, whose funeral Lee attended.<sup>4</sup> In the same year Lee lost his wife. She makes singularly little figure in the records of her husband's career. Possibly she shared the Catholic

<sup>1</sup> Strype, *Annals*, iii (2), 463; *S.P.D.* clxxxv. 32; Dasent, xvi. 371.

<sup>2</sup> Strype, *Annals*, iv. 19; *Surtees Soc.* xvii. 77; *V.H. Durham*, ii. 117.

<sup>3</sup> E. A. Bond, *Russia at the Close of the Sixteenth Century*, 234.

<sup>4</sup> Collins, i (1), 39.



sympathies of her father's family. Her letter to Charles Paget in 1584 was written from West Drayton in Middlesex, a Paget house, where she was with 'my Lady', presumably her widowed mother.<sup>1</sup> Here she says:

You know my malyncholy nature well enough, and being daily oppressed with grief and troubles, and wanting the good company of them which I was wont to have. You may safely gesse how hardly I drive forth the time here for now we live alone and almost there is none that dareth come to us or look upon us of the cause that hath been kept against my brother.

Lady Lee was buried at Aylesbury on 31 December 1590.<sup>2</sup> Her monument, according to a rather dismal fashion which Sir Henry followed in his own case, had long been ready. It is now in the north transept of Aylesbury church, and on it are the figures of two kneeling women and two swaddled infants, with the date '1584', the Lee and Paget arms, and the following inscription:

Yf passing by this place thou doe desire  
 To knowe what corpse here shrȳd in marble lie  
 The sōme of that which now thov dost require  
 This sclēder verse shall sone to the descrie  
 Entombed here dothe rest a worthie dame  
 Extract and born of noble hovse and blovd  
 Her sire Lord Paget hight of worthie fame  
 Whose virtves cannot sinke in Lethe flovd  
 Two brethren had she Barōs of this realme  
 A knight her feere Sir Henry Lee he hight  
 To whom she bare thre impes which had to name  
 Iohn Henry Mary slayn by fortvnes spight  
 First two beīg yong which caved ther parēts mōe  
 The third in flower ā prime of all her yeares  
 All thre do rest within this marble stone  
 By which the ficklēes of worldly ioyes appeares  
 Good frēd sticke not to strew with crimsō flowers  
 This marble stone wherin her cindres rest  
 For svre her ghost lyves with the heavēly powers  
 And gverdon hathe of virtvovs life possest.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. p. 52.

<sup>2</sup> 2 Gen. xiii. 230.





It has long been the custom in Aylesbury to keep a crimson flower, or in winter a bunch of red berries, standing in a vase in front of the monument.<sup>1</sup> The origin of this delicate fancy is unknown; it can hardly go back to Sir Henry Lee's days. There was an element of romance in Mary Lee's life, which I cannot elucidate so fully as I could wish. On 23 February 1579 the Privy Council notified the Judge of the Admiralty and the Queen's Solicitor that one Worsley had stolen away the daughter of Sir Henry Lee, Knight, and married her contrary to the laws of the realm and all good order. They are to call Sir Henry and those charged by him and report. On 15 March George Monoux was committed to the Fleet. On 16 March the officers were instructed to take bonds of John Bourton, the vicar, and Richard Kettle, the parish clerk, of Walthamstow, and Alexander Hilton, a servant of Monoux, to answer charges touching their dealings in the marriage, and to discharge them and others imprisoned for that fault in the Marshalsea. On 25 April Monoux was delivered from the Fleet, where he still lay for assisting John Worsley in 'the conveyeng away of Sir Henry Leigh's daughter', and on 13 July Worsley was released from the Marshalsea, on bond to answer before the Privy Council in the following term, with John Walter of Clifford's Inn and William Baye of London, grocer, as his securities. Worsley made his appearance on 9 October and the following 23 January, and was directed to continue attendance until he was dismissed.<sup>2</sup> No more is recorded of the case. There are no Walthamstow marriage registers of so early a date. A John Worsley of Appledurcombe in the Isle of Wight was a brother-in-law of Walsingham, with whom he was litigating in 1571. The family pedigree gives his wife as Jane Mewes.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Information from Mr. Edwin Hollis of Aylesbury.

<sup>2</sup> Dasent, xi. 56, 76, 79, 108, 187, 279, 376.

<sup>3</sup> *Harl. Soc.* lxiv. 23; C. Read, *Walsingham*, i. 29, 229; H. Hall, *Society in Eliz. Age*, 90, 93; H. i. 516.



The Monoux family was prominent in Walthamstow. A George, born in 1530, married a daughter of John Lord Mordaunt, of whom Sir Henry Lee held the manor of Hardwick, and with whom he had a law suit about Burston in 1563.<sup>1</sup> The heroine of the abduction gets no Christian name in the Privy Council entries, but I cannot trace any Sir Henry Lee in 1579, except Sir Henry of Quarrendon.<sup>2</sup> According to the Aylesbury register for 1586, 'The corpes of M<sup>rs</sup> Mary Lee daught<sup>r</sup> to S<sup>r</sup> Henry Lee Knight was layd in the vaute in the church wher hir mothers tombe now standeth on the xij<sup>th</sup> of ffebruary'.<sup>3</sup> The unusual wording suggests to me, not an original interment, but the transfer of a coffin, perhaps from Quarrendon, the register of which is not preserved. My impression is that Mary died about 1583 and that Lee then set about preparing the monument, which was left in a vault during her mother's lifetime. This date would account for Lady Lee's loneliness in 1584, and perhaps also for the recovery effected by Lee on his estates in the spring of 1583, since Mary's death, following those of her two brothers in infancy, left him without direct heirs, and he might well wish to have the free disposal of his lands which an estate in fee simple would give him.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> G. F. Bosworth, *George Monoux* (Walthamstow Antiq. Soc.); *Harl. Soc.* xiii. 252; xix. 123; cf. pp. 32, 218.

<sup>2</sup> An old list of Elizabethan knightings (*Harl. MS.* 983, f. 18) gives 'Oxon S<sup>r</sup> Henrie Lea, 1561', and a similar note, without 'Oxon', is in another (*Harl. MS.* 6063, f. 69<sup>v</sup>). Both are probably misdatings of our Sir Henry's own knighting. An older list than either of them (*Harl. MS.* 6063, f. 21<sup>v</sup>) has this correctly in 1553, and no Sir Henry in 1561.

<sup>3</sup> 2 *Gen.* xiii. 230. A correction of 'vaute' for 'xante' I owe to Mr. Hollis.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. p. 227.





## IV

### THE RANGER OF WOODSTOCK

THE manor or honour of Woodstock was ancient demesne of the crown of England. Its centre was at Old Woodstock on the west bank of the river Glyme, and to it belonged the neighbouring districts of Wootton, Hordley, Bladon, Hanborough, Combe, and Stonesfield. These are sometimes spoken of as distinct manors, but strictly they were members or in a special sense 'demesnes' of Woodstock, with a common manorial court presided over by the royal bailiff. To this also belonged a wider jurisdiction, practically obsolete by the sixteenth century, over the whole area of the Hundred of Wootton. Old Woodstock itself lay in a chase or park, which was distinct from, but bordered upon, the royal forest of Wyche-wood. Its hunting facilities made it from Saxon times a favourite residence for the kings of England. Henry the First is said to have rebuilt the house and enclosed the park and to have maintained in it a *vivarium*, with a porcupine and other strange animals. Henry the Second kept his mistress Rosamond Clifford there, and in order to secure lodgings for the followers of his court, founded the borough of New Woodstock in waste land belonging to Bladon, on the east of the Glyme. This in course of time became independent of the manor, under its own mayor and merchant gild, and extended into the adjacent manor of Hensington, which was not a member of Woodstock. In medieval days Woodstock manor was generally in the hands of the crown, although it was occasionally assigned to a queen consort for her maintenance or dowry, or otherwise, wholly or in part, alienated. Thus Joanna, the wife of Henry the Fifth, had it, and granted it to Thomas Chaucer, the son of the poet, who was allowed by the King to retain it for his lifetime. Henry



the Seventh improved the manor house, but a survey of 1551 describes it as 'long decayed and prostrated'. Elizabeth was lodged as a State prisoner in the Gate House, during her sister's reign, in 1553 and 1554. She visited Woodstock in 1566, 1572, 1574, 1575, and 1592, but when James the First took his court there during the plague-time in September 1603, Robert Cecil described it to the Earl of Shrewsbury as a very uncomfortable abode.<sup>1</sup>

This place is unholsum, all y<sup>e</sup> howse standing uppon springs: It is unsavory, for there is no savour but of cowes and pyggs: It is uneasfull, for only y<sup>e</sup> K. and Q. w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> privy chamb. ladyes, and some 3 or 4 of y<sup>e</sup> Scottish Counsaile, are lodged in y<sup>e</sup> howse, and neyther Chamberlain, nor one English Counsailor, have a room; w<sup>ch</sup> will be a soure sawce to some of yo<sup>r</sup> old frends y<sup>t</sup> have ben merry w<sup>th</sup> you in a winter's night, from whence they have not removed to their bedd in a snowy storme.

A Parliamentary Survey of 1650 again describes the house as much out of repair, but the buildings appear to have been considerable, with the usual hall, guard-chamber, presence-chamber, privy-chamber, and chapel of a royal palace, as well as other lodgings.<sup>2</sup> It may then have been in part pulled down, but ruins are shown in Plot's *Natural History of Oxfordshire* (1677), and still stood when the manor was granted to the first Duke of Marlborough in 1705. Sir John Vanbrugh, who built Blenheim beyond the Glyme in Bladon, wanted to preserve them, but Duchess Sarah, suspecting him of a design to secure an agreeable country retreat for himself, ordered their demolition in 1723.<sup>3</sup> The site is now only represented by a clump of trees on a slight eminence in the park.

The chief crown officer at Woodstock under the Tudors was the Lieutenant or Steward of the Manor, who was also Ranger of the Park and Master of the Game. The post was for some generations in the hands of the Chamberlain family of Shirburn. It was granted in 1508 to

<sup>1</sup> Lodge<sup>1</sup>, iii. 186.

<sup>2</sup> E. Marshall, *Woodstock*<sup>2</sup>, 206.

<sup>3</sup> Marshall, 263; A. Ballard, *Chronicles of Woodstock*, 107.







Sir Edward Chamberlain, the physician of Katharine of Arragon, and from him passed to his son Sir Leonard, and his grandson Francis, both of whom were also Governors of Guernsey.<sup>1</sup> Francis Chamberlain died in 1570, and on 9 June of that year Edward Dyer, the poet and friend of Sir Philip Sidney, wrote to Sir William Cecil that the Queen had granted him the 'office and demesnes' of Woodstock, in 'such ample manner as any of the Chamberlains have had it heretofore', and asked that the Marquis of Winchester, then Lord Treasurer, whom he suspected of wanting to benefit his own sons, might be urged to expedite the formalities.<sup>2</sup> Two patents were issued to Dyer in the same year,<sup>3</sup> one for the Lieutenancy, the other for the profits of the manor, at a rent of £114, subject to increases. But in 1571 he fell under the Queen's displeasure, for some reason unknown to us, and it was probably this which led him to assign his patents in that year to Thomas Peniston of Dean, Oxfordshire, a kinsman of Sir Henry Lee through his step-grandmother. From Peniston they passed to Sir Gerard Croker of Hook Norton, Oxfordshire, and from him, one may safely conjecture, to Lee himself, who tells us in 1604 that he had then been for thirty-three years at Woodstock.<sup>4</sup> The patents, of course, only held good for the term of Dyer's life, but in 1573 Lee obtained a further grant of the reversion during his own life, very possibly, as Lord Dillon thought, on the strength of his services at Edinburgh.<sup>5</sup> There was an Exchequer fee by way of salary, but this was probably less of an attraction to Lee than the perquisites and amenities of the position. His patent entitled him to keep seventy head of cattle and forty horses on the demesnes, and to cut annually for his own use a hundred and eight loads of firewood, eighteen of

<sup>1</sup> *Cal. P. Rolls* (Hen. VII), ii. 603; *Harl. Soc.* v, 235, 271.

<sup>2</sup> *H. i.* 472.

<sup>3</sup> *S.P.D.* cclv, p. 148 (warrant, misdated); *Dillon Notes*, W. 166.

<sup>4</sup> *Ditchley MSS.*; *Dillon Notes*, W. 166; *Harl. Soc.* v. 153; cf. pp. 91, 104.

<sup>5</sup> *Dillon*, 68; *Notes*, G. 72; *S.P.D.* (1603-10), p. 152.



hay, and brushwood to the value of £7. On the other hand, he was bound to maintain a herd of from two to three thousand deer, and to account for the crown rents falling due from the manor. Half a dozen houses were at his disposal, for himself and his servants. He made his residence the High Lodge, which still stands, a rather grim battlemented Tudor building, among the old oaks, spared by Vanbrugh, on the high ground at the south end of the park, with a fine outlook over the Evenlode to the Wytham woods and the Berkshire downs. But he had also Gorrell Lodge and the New Lodge in the north park, Bladon Lodge in Herne Grove, a house called Rosamund, and a house at the park gate, which may have been on the site of that now called Chaucer's House.<sup>1</sup> Lee's duties as Ranger were no doubt congenial to him. John Aubrey tells us that he was 'a strong and valiant person', and 'would many times in his younger yeares walke at nights in the parke with his keepers'. This Aubrey had from his old cousin Whitney.<sup>2</sup> A picture once at Ditchley represents Lee with a dog, which Lord Dillon says is a mastiff of a breed still known in Cheshire, and on it are the following verses:<sup>3</sup>

Reason in Man cannot effect such love,  
 As nature doth in them that reason wante;  
 Ulisses true and kinde his dog did prove,  
 When Faith in better Frenches was very scante.  
 My travailes for my frenches have been as true,  
 Tho not so far as fortune did him beare;  
 No frenches my love and faith devided knew,  
 Tho neither this nor that once equall'd were.  
 But in my Dog whereof I made no store,  
 I find more love then them I trusted more.

Hearne preserves a report that the picture was painted on an occasion when Sir Henry was saved by his dog.

<sup>1</sup> *Lansd. MS.* 25, f. 191; Marshall, 160, 254.

<sup>2</sup> *Brief Lives*, ii. 30.

<sup>3</sup> Hearne, vi. 192; Dillon, 78; *Notes*, W. 168.







Sir Walter Scott, who drew upon the history of Lee for *Woodstock*, may be responsible for calling the dog Bevis. We do not know what spectacular or literary entertainment, if any, Lee may have provided for the delectation of Elizabeth during her visits to Woodstock in 1572 and 1574. It is possible, indeed, that these years may account for some of the undated items in a manuscript collection of pieces in verse and prose, which was long preserved at Ditchley, and is now in the British Museum.<sup>1</sup> For 1575, on the other hand, we have a very full record in a volume printed for the publisher Thomas Cadman in 1585, and edited in 1910 by Mr. A. W. Pollard. The running title of the print is *The Queenes Maiesties Entertainment at Woodstocke*, but unfortunately, the first sheet, with the title-page and the beginning of the text, is missing from the only known copy, and although some of the speeches are found in the Ditchley manuscript, this also is defective at almost the same point as the print. The issue of 1585 may or may not have been the first. But as to the year of the entertainment itself there can be no doubt. One of the speeches is found by itself in another manuscript, together with versions in Latin, Italian, and French by George Gascoigne, dated 1575, and accompanied by a dedicatory letter to the Queen, written on the New Year's Day of 1576.<sup>2</sup> The English and Latin texts were published in 1579 as an annex to Abraham Fleming's *A Paradox*. Elizabeth reached Woodstock on 29 August, and stayed to about 3 October. Negotiations were on foot for her marriage with the Duc d'Alençon, and to Woodstock also came a new French ambassador, Michel de Castelnau, Sieur de Mauvissière, together with his predecessor, Bertrand de Salignac de la Mothe-Fénelon, who there took his leave. Earlier in the progress the Queen had been with the Earl of Leicester at Kenilworth, and here had been given the famous

<sup>1</sup> App. D.

<sup>2</sup> J. W. Cunliffe, *Gascoigne*, ii. 473, from *Royal MS.* 18 A xlvihi.



entertainment known as *The Princely Pleasures at Kenilworth Castle*, of which also we have descriptions, one by George Gascoigne, who was responsible for some of the devices, and another by Robert Laneham. It was now for Lee to furnish something which would not suggest a competition with the magnificence of his patron, and yet would not be an anticlimax. On the whole he was fairly successful, according to the not very exalted standard of the royal taste. An out of door scene of boschage, an interwoven theme of mythology and romance, some allegorical conceits, a consort of music, a banquet, plenty of flattery and some presents, reasonably costly; these seemed to be what was indicated. A discreet reminiscence of Kenilworth would not be amiss, and perhaps, for afterpiece, something more formal in the dramatic line. Elaborate preparation was made, and expectation was on the alert. Even so dignified a personage as Lawrence Humphrey, President of Magdalen and Vice-Chancellor of Oxford, delivering an oration for the University to the Queen on 11 September, deigned to ask 'An Sylvanus aves, Neptunus pisces, Pomona fructus, Ceres fruges, Bacchus vinum, Syren iocos, Mars certamina, Apollo musicam, Diana feras, Gandina spectacula, omnes dii deaeque omnia ludicra dabunt, et Minerva nostra nihil exhibebit?'<sup>1</sup> Gaudina was in fact to be the heroine of the entertainment.<sup>2</sup> The description of this in the print of 1585, like Laneham's account of Kenilworth, takes the form of a letter by an eyewitness to an absent friend. The writer does not, however, use the peculiar orthography of Laneham. Nor can he be Gascoigne, since he professes ignorance of Italian, into which Gascoigne is able to translate. Mr. Pollard thinks, however, that Gascoigne may be the author of the final comedy. This is possible enough. Another piece in the Ditchley manu-

<sup>1</sup> Humphrey, *Oratio in Aula Woodstochiensis* (1575). A marginal note refers to *spectacula* at both Kenilworth and Woodstock.

<sup>2</sup> On the variant spellings of the name cf. p. 270.







script seems to have his initials at the end. The opening of the entertainment is unfortunately lost. Clearly it involved a fight before Gaudina between her lover Contarenus and another knight, by name Loricus. This was stopped by the intervention of a hermit Hemetes. He then brought the parties to the presence of Elizabeth, who stood 'in a fine Bower made of purpose covered with greene Ivie, and seates made of earthe with sweete smelling hearbes', and began a long tale, in which he detailed their previous history and his own. This tale is the passage subsequently translated by Gascoigne.

Gaudina was the daughter and heir of Occanon, Duke of Cambia near the Indus. She loved Contarenus, but the Duke, misliking the match, had her carried away by an enchantress to the very bounds of the ocean sea. It cost him twenty thousand crowns; 'a deere price for repentance, but it is no novelty for Princes to make their wils verie costly, and sometime to pay deere for their own displeasures'. The enchantress bade Contarenus have patience. He should have his reward in seven years, but 'first he should fight with the hardiest knight, and see the worthiest Lady of the world'. A blind hermit would help him, who would at the same time recover his sight. Gaudina found her way to the grot of Sibilla, and here she met with Loricus. Sibilla, we may note incidentally, had already figured in an episode contributed by William Hunnis to the pastimes of Kenilworth. Loricus had loved a matchless lady, without hope of attaining her. He had turned to another 'that lived every day in her eye'. She too was 'a peece sure of price, but farre from such a pearle, as his heart onely esteemed'. It had profited him nothing, and he set out on a travel to seek reputation in arms, which brought him to Sibilla's grot. Sibilla bade Gaudina and Loricus keep fellowship. Some day they would attain content, when they came to 'a place, where men were most strong, women most fayre, the countrey most fertile, the people most wealthy,



the government most just, and the Princes most worthy'. Now Hemetes turns to his own history. He too, though now 'wrinckled and cast into a corner', had once been a knight of renown, and had loved a lady, who took on many shapes, and at last that of a tigress, so that he fled. He came to the temple of Venus at Paphos and was there stricken blind. The chaplain of Venus told him that it was a punishment for divided allegiance. He had been a delighter in learning, as well as a servant of Love. But books and beauty make no match, and it was a whole man or no man that the goddess would have to serve her. Hemetes was then thrust out of the temple of Venus, but Mercury took him to that of Apollo at Delphos, and here he received the consolation that he should recover his sight, but not 'till at one time, and in one place, in a countrie of most peace, two of the most valiant knights shal fight, two of the most constant lovers shal meet, and the most vertuous Lady of the world shall be there to looke on'. In the meantime he must dwell in a hermitage, and so was he suddenly shifted 'unto this hill harde by', where he has wintered many a year. And now 'by your most happy coming' the prophecies are verified. The knights have fought, the lovers have met, hemetes has his sight. He must leave Loricus to the prosecution of his purpose, whose 'end will be reward, at least most reputation, with noblest women most esteemed'. And the Queen he will now guide to his poor home.

It seems an artless tale. But Gascoigne tells us that he saw the Queen's learned judgement greatly pleased with it, and the anonymous reporter says that the hermit

shewed a great prooffe of his audacity, in which tale if you marke the woords with this present world, or were acquainted with the state of the deuises, you shoulde finde no lesse hidden then vttered, and no lesse vttered then shoulde deserue a double reading ouer, euen of those (with whom I finde you a companion) that haue disposed their houres to the study of great matters.







The Queen was now led to a banqueting house, built at a cost of £40 on a mound forty feet high, around the trunk of an oak, the bended branches of which formed a roof. In it hung pictures with posies of nobles and men of credit, which raised much curiosity. The French ambassador, who was present, made great suit to have some of them. Again the reporter is enigmatic.

The which posies, with some perfect note of their pictures, I would haue presented vnto you: but because the Allegories are hard to be vnderstood, without some knowledge of the inuentors, I have chosen my tyme rather when my selfe shall be present, & more the sooner, because I woulde leaue nothing vnfulfilled of my firste determination.

Hemetes now left the Queen, and went to his orisons. While she banqueted, to the sound of music from a hollow room beneath the house, she was visited by the Queen of the Fayry, who here, I think, makes her first appearance in Elizabethan literature. She was drawn by six children in a wagon of state, and after reciting verses, in which she says that her love for Elizabeth had transformed her hue from black into white, presented a gown of great price, together with a nosegay and an Italian posy, which baffled the reporter. Seventeen ladies in the Queen's train, whose names are given, were also gratified with nosegays and posies. After further verses of thanks from Gaudina, Elizabeth now took her coach, and on her way back heard more music 'closelie in an Oke', and the following song, in which was 'greate inuention, and yet no more than the iust fame of the deuiser doth both deserue and carrie':

The man whose thoughts against him doe conspire,  
in whome mishap her story did depante:

The man of woo, the matter of desire,  
free of the dead that liues in endlesse plainte:

His sprite am I within this desart wonne,  
to rewe his case whose cause I cannot shune.



Dispaire my name who neuer seeke releife,  
 friended of none, vnto my selfe my foe,  
 An idle care mayntayned by firme beleife,  
 that prayse of faith shall through my tormentes growe.  
 And count the hopes that other hartes doe ease,  
 but base conceates the common sorte to please.

I am most sure that I shall not attaine,  
 the onely good wherein the ioy doth lye.  
 I haue no power my passions to refraine,  
 but wayle the want which nought els may supply.  
 Whereby my life the shape of death, must beare  
 that death, which feeles the worst that life doth feare.

But what auailles with Tragical complaint,  
 not hoping helpe, the furies to awake?  
 Or why should I the happie mindes acquaint  
 With dolefull tunes, their settled peace to shake?  
 O yce that here behold infortunes fare,  
 there is no grieve that may with mine compare.

Elizabeth was now, and it is no wonder, 'filled with conceites'. But she left

earnest command that the whole in order as it fell, should be brought her in writing, which being done, as I heare, she vsed, besides her owne skill, the helpe of the deuisors, and how thinges were made I know not, but sure I am her Majesty hath often in speech some part hereof with mirth at the remembrance.

And then, at a second day's entertainment on 20 September, came a playlet, which reverted to the story of Gaudina and Contarenius. 'It was as well thought of, as anye thing ever done before her Majestie' and 'in such sort, that her Grace's passions, and other the Ladies' could not but shew it selfe in open place more than ever hath been scene'. It is, however, a tedious piece, little more than a prolonged *débat* in six-line stanzas, and I will not quote it. The upshot is not quite what might have been expected. Loricus does not appear. Occanon, who has traced Gaudina by inquiry of Sibilla, comes to seek her





at the court. With the aid of the Fairy Queen, here named Eambia, he persuades his daughter and Contarenius to resign each other, in order that Gaudina may return home with him, and for the sake of her country make a match more befitting her degree. Mr. Pollard suggests that there is a political significance here, that the play was inspired by Leicester, and, if I understand him rightly, that it represents a resolve to abandon his own suit of Elizabeth, because reasons of state forbade her to marry a subject. I am a little sceptical about this. It is true that in 1575 the Protestant party in Elizabeth's council desired her to marry the Duc d'Alençon, who was then the hope of the Huguenots in France. Leicester generally acted with this party, but it is not clear that he was prepared to support this scheme, and he was certainly opposed to it when it was revived a few years later. In any case, it would have been a dangerous matter to handle in an entertainment. In 1565, when there was a general desire for Elizabeth's marriage, a play was given before her, in which the respective claims of matrimony and chastity were advocated by Juno and Diana, and Jupiter decided in favour of matrimony. When it was over, Elizabeth turned to the Spanish ambassador, and said, 'This is all against me'. But this was an abstract issue, and it does not follow that she would have received with equal unanimity a discussion of the claims of individual suitors. Nor was Sir Henry Lee, although in close relations with Leicester, quite the man to take any political risks.

Professor Sargent has pointed out that elsewhere the *Song in the Oak* is ascribed to Edward Dyer.<sup>1</sup> It is likely enough that he co-operated with Lee in the entertainment. They were both attached to Leicester, and we know from a letter of 28 October 1575 that Dyer was at

<sup>1</sup> *At the Court of Queen Elizabeth*, 33, 207. In *Bodl. Rawlinson Poet. MS.* 85, f. 7, the lines, in an inferior text, are subscribed 'Mr Dier'. In *Harl. MS.* 6910, f. 169, they are anonymous.



Woodstock after the court had left.<sup>1</sup> I do not, with Professor Sargent, see any specific reference here to his period of disfavour with the Queen. That was definitely over by 11 May 1573, when Gilbert Talbot wrote to his father that there were devices at court, chiefly as he supposes, by Leicester, and not without Burghley's knowledge, how to make Dyer as great as ever was Sir Christopher Hatton.<sup>2</sup>

It is brought thus to passe: Dier lately was sicke of a consumption, in great daunger; and, as yo<sup>r</sup> Lo. knoweth, he hathe bene in displeasure thes ii yeares. It was made the Quene beleve that his sicknes came because of y<sup>e</sup> continiaunce of hir displeasure towardes him, so that unles she would forgyve him, he was licke not to recover; & heruppon hir Ma<sup>tie</sup> hathe forgyven him, and sente unto him a very comfortable message; now he is recovered agayne, and this is the beginninge of this device.

I do not think there is anything in the Song in the Oak which goes beyond the ordinary blend of adoration and despair which Elizabeth expected of her youthful admirers. But are we to find Dyer also in the cryptic tale of Hemetes? Lee himself is certainly there, as Loricus, since that is a name which he used again later.<sup>3</sup> One can hardly identify the lady that lived every day in the Queen's eye, to whom Loricus turned, when he found Elizabeth herself unattainable. She is no doubt in the list of court ladies present at the entertainment. At a venture I suggest Lady Susan Bouchier, a daughter of John Bouchier, Earl of Bath, who appears, many years after, in Lee's will.<sup>4</sup> Possibly Dyer was Hemetes. He was quite the sort of man to neglect courtship for books, and I suspect that his hermitage on 'this hill harde by' was Lee's High Lodge, where he may have sought refuge while in disgrace with his tigress.

When the court left Woodstock, Lee was faced with a

<sup>1</sup> H. ii. 119.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. p. 148.

<sup>2</sup> Lodge<sup>1</sup>, ii. 101.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. pp. 215, 234.







troublesome problem as Master of the Game. One may guess that the Queen's hunting had not been quite satisfactory. By 11 September he had reported disorders to the Privy Council, who issued a commission to examine them.<sup>1</sup> A remedy was sought in an enlargement of the park, for the walling of which a sum of £309 was allocated on 9 July 1576.<sup>2</sup> Probably the object was to make better provision for the winter keep of the deer. This had been a preoccupation of the keepers from medieval days. As far back as the thirteenth century the Harcourts had held part of their land at Stanton Harcourt on the upper Thames by the 'serjeanty' or service of providing fodder for the King's beasts. This service, as it stood in 1650, is minutely described in the Parliamentary Survey. The lords of Stanton Harcourt, with its hamlets of Sutton and South Leigh, had yearly, if required, to mow and carry the meadows named after those hamlets at Woodstock, together with those known as Rosamund's meadows within the park. And when summoned by the winding of a horn at their gates, they had also to find four men to cut browsing for the deer, when the snow lay upon the ground. The value of this to the manor of Woodstock was reckoned at £1 5s., after making allowance for the right of each browser to take a nightly billet of wood, of the length of his axe-helve, and such as he could carry to his lodging on the edge of his axe. This picturesque service was still obligatory in 1705, although it was then ordinarily commuted for a money payment of £1 10s.<sup>3</sup> The enlargement of the park in 1576 led to trouble with the tenants of Woodstock manor, who took a complaint to the Queen at Windsor that their common had been encroached upon and a highway diverted. She told the Earl of Leicester to reason with them. He promised them recompense, but they were still dissatisfied, and the Queen became angry. The matter was now referred to

<sup>1</sup> Dasent, ix. 23.

<sup>2</sup> H. ii. 135.

<sup>3</sup> E. W. Harcourt, *Harcourt Papers*, i. 18; Marshall, 39, 208, 250.



Lord Burghley. 'Surely', wrote Leicester, 'it is not to be suffered that a Prince in such a case should be grudged at, when every upstart and yeoman almost can have more a thousand times at their tenants' hands to enclose, whole towns and lordships, and to change twice as far highways, and no complaints at all of it.'<sup>1</sup> Leicester's attitude towards enclosures was much that of his father in Edward the Sixth's days. It now fell to Sir Henry Lee to prepare a case for Burghley's consideration, and several documents concerning it are preserved.<sup>2</sup> The lands in question appear to have been the old demesne lands of the manor, known as the 'burie lands', together with others, 'sart' or 'assart' lands, which represented later clearings in woodland. These were not tilled by the crown, but let to the copyhold tenants of the manor in proportion to their holdings. This customary occupation the tenants now claimed as a right, whereas the crown officers asserted that it was only at the Queen's will and pleasure. Lee negotiated for some time without success, and finally evicted the tenants from the demesne, and sent up six of them, representing different members of the manor, for examination by Burghley himself. Among them was one Gregory of Hordley, whose family was still established at Woodstock in the next century. Lee describes him as the richest of the tenants and the 'most out of order'. The demesne lands, he said, had been very badly dealt with, and much waste committed. The tenants would leave no tree standing on the burie grounds. They cut down old enclosures, destroying the quick mow, and sawing off great trees clean by the roots, to hide what they had done. This, no doubt, meant a loss of cover for the deer. Moreover, the larger tenants oppressed the lesser ones. They claimed as many acres to a yardland as pleased them. Not content with their copyholds and

<sup>1</sup> H. ii. 141.

<sup>2</sup> *Lansd. MSS.* xxv, ff. 189-99; xxvii, ff. 95-6; civ, f. 35; E. Corbett, *Spelsbury*, 129, from *Ditchley MSS.*







the burie lands, they enclosed the great wastes without leave or order. They would till up demesne land, never before ploughed, to the great hindrance of all the rest of the poor inhabitants, which were wont with their cattle to have relief there. Circumstances alter cases, and Lee did not think it necessary to remember what had been done at Quarrendon. Thomas Moryson, the Clerk of the Pipe in the Exchequer, was instructed to take a survey, and Lee suggested that Burghley should also interview George Whitton, his subordinate as Controller and Surveyor of Woodstock, who could inform him somewhat of his own knowledge, and more as he had heard from his father, and his father from his grandfather, which reached to a hundred years. One may suspect that the interests of the crown had not been very well looked after during the régime of two successive Lieutenants, who were also Governors of Guernsey, and therefore largely non-resident. However, Thomas Moryson did take a survey, and ultimately, although not until January 1579, and after a suit had been opened against the tenants in the Court of Exchequer, Burghley obtained their submission to an order, and they contented themselves with asking for his favourable consideration. Meanwhile the deer remained badly off, and on 9 February 1579 the Privy Council called on the Oxfordshire justices to furnish stover, as Lee's provision was spent by reason of the extremity of the winter.<sup>1</sup> Incidentally, the enclosure seems to have interfered with certain meadows held by Lee and Whitton, and their claims for recompense had to be considered. Whitton got a warrant for a lease in reversion.<sup>2</sup> Lee was allowed to annex the minor keeperships of the Garden and Meadows.<sup>3</sup> That of the Wardrobe and Lectory he had already acquired in 1574.<sup>4</sup> In 1585 he had a new crown lease of land belonging to the Woodstock manor.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Dasent, xi. 45.

<sup>2</sup> H. ii. 261.

<sup>3</sup> H. ii. 247.

<sup>4</sup> *Dillon Notes*, W. 29.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* G. 108.



It seems to have been partly as a result of the distribution of meadow privileges that an antagonism, which had long smouldered between the Lieutenant and the Controller, now burst into flame. George Whitton was a gentleman of some position and lord of the manor of Hensington, which bordered upon Woodstock. His family, as Lee told Burghley, had long been concerned with the royal domain. Robert Wyghthyll, who became Controller in 1496, was a Yeoman of the Chamber, and probably belonged to a family which can be traced in the neighbourhood as far back as the twelfth century.<sup>1</sup> Whitton may be merely a variant of the same name. In any case Robert was succeeded by Owen Whitton, who had married his daughter, and he in 1550 by his son George, a connexion, as it happened, of Lee himself through his mother Dorothy, daughter of Thomas Peniston of Dean, Oxfordshire, who was the brother of Lee's step-grandmother Lettice. Both Owen and George held with the Controllership the Keepership of Hares and Woodwardship of the manor of Spelsbury.<sup>2</sup> George, at some risk to himself, had done good services to Elizabeth during her imprisonment at Woodstock.<sup>3</sup> Presumably the administration of the manor had been largely in the hands of the Controller during the time of the absentee Chamberlains, and Whitton, on the strength of the hundred years of hereditary experience behind him, may well have resented the new man from Bucks, with his courtly manners and his powerful friends, as an interloper. In December 1580 he brought a complaint against Lee before the Privy Council, which is fortunately preserved, together with Lee's reply.<sup>4</sup> It was as pretty a little official squabble as you could wish. The allegations went back

<sup>1</sup> *Cal. P. Rolls* (Hen. VII), ii. 45; H. E. Salter, *Eynsham Cartulary*, i. 98, 111, 326, 328, 365; ii. 220.

<sup>2</sup> *Cal. P. Rolls* (Edw. VI), iii. 308; *Harl. Soc.* v. 153; M. D. Lobel, *Dean* (Oxf. Rec. Soc.), 75, with incorrect pedigree.

<sup>3</sup> H. x. 75.

<sup>4</sup> *S.P.D.* cxliv. 66; *Add.* xxvii. 66; *Dillon Notes*, G. 93<sup>v</sup>.







to days before Lee became Lieutenant. About ten years ago, said Whitton, Francis Chamberlain called him out of bed, and asked him to get over the wall and help him to steal a buck from the keepers. At Wootton they found a man of Lee's, with a buck delivered to him by a keeper and two pasties. Chamberlain committed the man to ward. Later Lee charged Whitton in 'Powles'—St. Paul's, I suppose—with having used words of reproach against him, which Whitton denies. When Lee came into his office, he showed mislike to Whitton, but Sir Thomas Bromley reconciled them, and Whitton lived in quiet for three years. Meanwhile Lee told Mr. Henry Rainsford that he would join with one Peniston, to make the Controller weary of his office. Charged by Whitton with this at the Savoy, he neither denied nor affirmed it, but said that Rainsford was a knave and made him confess he was sorry for what he said. Whitton now gave Lee offence by alleging that his bailiff set divers tenants to work, and did not pay them. Lee, in return, charged Whitton with stealing a buck, and made him swear on a book for his purgation. About two years ago he boasted that he would rid Whitton before long. There is now a mutilation in Whitton's statement. He has come to more recent incidents concerning the meadows. Lee had questioned his right to a hay-crop and moved Burghley to make him restore it. He had been granted 20 marks a year in compensation for his meadows, but Lee did his best to keep him out of it, having sold the ground to a gentleman for £140. 'His malice', Whitton breaks out, 'is known to many, the smart wherof I dayly find.' For six or seven years Lee has kept him out of his Woodwardship at Spelsbury and withheld allowances belonging to the Controllership. He had taken great cause of stomach against Whitton, because he had made known the concealment of four marks a year due to the crown from escheats arising in the manor and borough of Woodstock. Hence his



malice, with which Whitton has had to put up, as well as the falling out of Lee's servants with him, which he had been obliged to bear in view of the great countenance of their master. Lee, in reply, systematically traverses these charges. The affair of the buck and the pasties, so far as he remembers, was sixteen years ago. The venison had been given him by gentlemen and gentlewomen, and he sent for it, but he took no offence at the abuse offered to his servant. As to the friction when he first came to Woodstock he refers himself to Bromley, now Lord Chancellor. He took no offence, again, at the complaint against his bailiff, and spent £100 on paying what was due to the tenants. A vaunt of Whitton's deer-stealing had justified him in making him swear his innocence. He had been grieved by an untrue report against him, and thought Whitton its forger. A gelding of his had been let out at a postern of Whitton's, and he naturally supposed Whitton or his man responsible for the stray. But on examination of the man he was satisfied, and thought him more honest than his master. These last two statements seem to refer to the mutilated part of Whitton's indictment. He certainly wanted to have the meadows in the park, as his predecessor had them, but he also wanted Whitton to have compensation, which in fact he got. When he was in composition with Mr. Newdigate for his interest in Spelsbury manor, he learnt that Whitton had forfeited his office there for waste and spoil. He suspended the matter for conference with Whitton, who refused reasonable treatment, and stood upon his legal rights. He had not barred Whitton of any dues belonging to him as Controller. The changes are slanderous clamours. He will answer anything on which the Privy Council are not satisfied, but he suggests that Whitton should be dismissed from prison, and a trial left to law.

A sidelight on the affair is afforded by a note in a court roll of Spelsbury manor in 1575 that Whitton was in







arrear with the accounts of his Woodwardship.<sup>1</sup> Mr. Peniston was, I suppose, Whitton's own nephew, Michael Peniston of Dean. Henry Rainsford of Great Tew, Oxfordshire, was a kinsman of Robert Lee's son-in-law. The venison pasties are more likely to have been made in 1570 than in 1564, since it was in 1570 that Lee got his interest in Spelsbury. Whatever the rights and wrongs of the dispute, Whitton might have known that it was Lee who had the greater pull at court, and it is not surprising that it was he and not Lee who was landed in prison. It was not until 20 June 1581 that the Privy Council released him on bond from the Marshalsea, and on the same day they wrote to Lee that it had been found out who shot off the piece beside Mr. Alderman Pullison's house, wherewith Whitton had charged him, and that both in that matter and the rest they held his name and reputation sufficiently cleared. Whitton had now acknowledged his fault and made a submission which tended very much to Sir Henry's credit. They begged him to be content with it.<sup>2</sup> Thomas Pullison was an alderman of London, who had married Whitton's sister-in-law, Winifred Peniston. Presumably the shot which disturbed him was dealt with in the mutilated passage of Whitton's complaint, and led to the false report which had annoyed Lee.

Whitton's grievance became the basis of one of the attacks made upon the Earl of Leicester in *The Copie of a Letter Written by a Master of Arte of Cambridge to his Friend in London*, which was disseminated in 1584. 'What shall I speake', says the anonymous Catholic writer, 'of his dealing with George Witney, in the behalfe of Sir Henrie Leigh, for inforcing him to for-go the controuler-ship of Woodstock, which he holdeth by patent from K. Henrie the Seventh?'<sup>3</sup> Whitton may have been hardly

<sup>1</sup> *Ditchley MSS.*

<sup>2</sup> Dasent, xiii. 93.

<sup>3</sup> *Copie of a Letter*, 89; *Leicester's Commonwealth* (ed. F. J. Burgoyne), 110.



treated, although he certainly did not lose his controllership. But there is independent evidence that he was one of those tenacious fellows, so common in public life, who are always spoiling for a quarrel. No sooner was he out of the Marshalsea than he was at loggerheads with the Corporation of the Borough of New Woodstock, of which he was a freeman, had been mayor, and was now an alderman.<sup>1</sup> The ancient liberties and customs of the borough had been formulated by a charter of Henry the Sixth in 1453. Under this the inhabitants were to be free burgesses, with a mayor elected by the commonalty and a separate borough court for civil and criminal cases, other than felonies. The site of the borough was granted to them by the King at a yearly fee-farm rent of four marks. The mayor, as clerk of the market, was to have the assize of victuals, that is, the responsibility for checking their purity of composition and good measure. Provision was also made for the continuance of a Merchant Gild, to which all traders in the borough had to belong. The charter was confirmed by later sovereigns and by Elizabeth herself in 1559. But in practice the constitution had undergone considerable development since 1453. The borough now appointed, in addition to the mayor, a high steward. The post was held in 1580 by Sir Henry Lee. It appears to have been merely a complimentary one. The duties were limited to the administration of an oath to the mayor on his election and the delivery of an oration, and the emoluments to the gift of a cake and a sugar-loaf at Christmas.<sup>2</sup> More important was the disappearance of the Merchant Gild as such, and the interposition of aldermen and a common council between the mayor and the commonalty. It may be conjectured that these had originally been functionaries of the gild, and that in Woodstock, as elsewhere, the gild had gradually acquired control over the town affairs, and had ultimately

<sup>1</sup> The following account is mainly based on A. Ballard, *Chronicles of Woodstock* (1895).

<sup>2</sup> Ballard, 35.







been merged in the corporation. In the course of 1580, during the mayoralty of William Skelton, orders were drawn up by the corporation, probably with a view to a 'Bill for the Reedifying of the Borough of New Woodstock', which was introduced in the Parliament of 1581, but 'dashed' on the third reading.<sup>1</sup> To the framing of these orders George Whitton, as an alderman, had been a party. In the course of 1581, however, he came into conflict with the corporation on another matter. Certain bits of land, known as Sterting Grove, the Horse Fair, and Common Acre, were regarded by the corporation as part of the ancient estate of the borough. Whitton, on the other hand, claimed that they belonged to his manor of Hensington, and in July 1581, when the corporation had enclosed Sterting Grove, he occupied it with an armed force of twenty men, and pulled down the rails, remaining there by night and 'making great shouts and outcries to the great terror and admiration of the whole country inhabiting thereabouts'. In September he stood for the mayoralty. The election was conducted according to the orders of 1580. There was a preliminary vote by the common council for the selection of two aldermen, whose names were then submitted to the choice of the burgesses. The choice was thus very limited, since under the orders vacancies in the council itself were filled in a similar way, and those among the aldermen at the will of the remaining aldermen and the councillors. Little more than a semblance of the free election contemplated by the charter remained. Whitton was not elected, whereupon he 'broke out into choleric speeches, beating his fists together with frowning countenance', and took the constitutional point that the method of election was not according to the charter, which contemplated a free vote of the commonalty. This, indeed, appears to have been the case, although it is likely enough that the new orders merely recognized a practice

<sup>1</sup> *Commons Journals*, i. 128.



which had long prevailed. Shortly afterwards, when a meeting of the council was held for the confirmation of the orders, Whitton refused to sign them or even to attend the meeting, and as a result was deprived by the council, under the terms of another order, both of his aldermanship and his freemanship. The next stage was a brawl in the street, during which the mayor threatened to put Whitton in the stocks, and Whitton 'most despitefully made polts with his mouth at the mayor, flouting the mayor, spitting in the mayor's face, lifting up his leg unto him, saying, "Put this leg in the stocks if thou darest, for it will become a pair of stocks full well".' The mayor, we are told, behaved with 'great discretion', which apparently means that he did not put Whitton in the stocks, but merely charged the people in the Queen's name to keep the Queen's peace, and went home to bed. Whitton now had recourse to the law, and harassed the corporation with suits in various royal courts, the nature of which is only in one case known. It concerned the concealment of the fee-farm rent due to the crown, to which, as we have seen, Whitton had already accused Sir Henry Lee of being a party. Instigated, no doubt, by Whitton, the Attorney-General laid an information before the Exchequer Court on 24 May 1583, and claimed the payment of arrears to the amount of £466 13s. 4d. The reply was that the rents had always been paid to the Lieutenant of the manor, although the corporation admitted that this was 'in extremity of law' no sufficient discharge, and petitioned for relief by the Queen's grace. Presumably relief was ultimately granted, since in 1588 the Attorney-General entered a *nolle prosequi*.<sup>1</sup> Had Lee and his predecessors, one wonders, treated the rents as perquisites of office? Meanwhile the corporation, in their turn, brought an action, also in 1583, against Whitton in the Star Chamber.<sup>2</sup> Here they detailed the events of

<sup>1</sup> Ballard, *Woodstock*, 49.

<sup>2</sup> Ballard, 44, from *Star Ch. Proc.* (Eliz.), lxxvii. 7; *S.P.D.* clxv. 53.







1581, and went on to make charges of irregularities during Whitton's own term of office as mayor, comprising the retention of forfeitures, the malversation of borough property, deer-stealing, and usury. Against these Whitton seems to have made a fair case, but as usual we only have the bill and answer and not the finding of the court. On the constitutional issue he claimed that, as there were only five aldermen, the effect of the order of 1580, if allowed, would be to limit the choice of the burgesses to three men, 'being very unfit for the office'. And into this he went farther in a supplication to the Privy Council, the nature of which we can gather from a reply by William Skelton, who was now once more mayor.<sup>1</sup> Skelton, said Whitton, 'with his confederates by name of a Common Council, a pack elected for the purpose, hath practised that there shall not be a new elected mayor, but himself to be chosen perpetually mayor'. He was a victualler, and did not carry out the assize of victuals. Whitton himself had been disfranchised for defending the charter, and wrongfully amerced by the mayor, who moreover had wrongfully defrauded the Queen of her moiety of the borough amercements. Skelton's reply was that the Common Council was of 'the best sort and most discreet persons of the town' and had always been used in Woodstock; that he had been yearly re-elected as mayor 'to his no small trouble and charge', and had not been negligent in his duty; that he had left the victualling to his wife during his mayoralty, having sworn men to take the assize of bread and beer, and had now discontinued it altogether; that Whitton had been disfranchised for many contempts and misdemeanours and divers opprobrious and reproachful words to the mayor and amerced for setting up poles in the High Street to the common nuisance; and that he was at all times ready to account to the Queen for her moiety of the amercements. An echo of Whitton's contentions is to be heard in a petition

<sup>1</sup> Ballard, 52, from *S.P.D.* clxv. 53.



to Lord Burghley in 1584, setting out on behalf of inhabitants of the town certain causes to be considered before an alteration of the charter. Here again stress is laid on the departure in mayoral elections from the principles of 1453, and it is alleged that the government of the town had passed into the hands of a pack of victuallers, determined that the mayor shall always be a victualler, 'who will yearly for a fine certain dispense with all victuallers to the utter decay of the poor'.<sup>1</sup>

Apart altogether from the personalities involved, this is a pretty example of an early conflict of democratic and oligarchic tendencies in municipal organization. I dare say a paternal Privy Council or the lapse of time smoothed it over. Local disputes rage furiously, and are followed by a calm. At any rate George Whitton was a justice of peace in the borough, and therefore, no doubt, an alderman again, by 1587. And certainly Sir Henry Lee was not inexorable. We shall find Whitton's name linked in unpopularity with his at a time of riot in 1596, and in 1597 he wrote to Sir Robert Cecil, begging the release of Whitton from a privy seal under which he was called to contribute £25 towards a forced loan, and describing him as 'her Majesty's diligent servant, which hath long appeared and of late not least in the repair of her Majesty's manor house there, doing chargeable offices without any allowance'.<sup>2</sup> Whitton retired in 1600, and Lee wrote again, on behalf of the Earl of Essex as well as himself, in support of the application of Henry Whitton for succession to the post, 'which an ancient uncle of his has now held some fifty years', and reminded Cecil of George's many services to the Queen, which in her sister's time had procured him disgrace and threatened him danger.<sup>3</sup> In 1606 he was acknowledging some favour shown by Cecil to Henry Whitton.<sup>4</sup> The Whittons long

<sup>1</sup> Ballard 54, from *Lansd. MS.* 40, f. 70.

<sup>2</sup> H. vii. 310; cf. p. 166.

<sup>3</sup> H. x. 75, 92; *Cal. P. Rolls* (Edw. VI), iii. 308.

<sup>4</sup> *Cecil Papers*, cxviii. 79.







continued at Woodstock; a Blunt Whitton was controller in 1650.<sup>1</sup>

It will be well, at the expense of chronology, to complete here the record of Lee's own official connexion with the manor. During the later years of Elizabeth his enjoyment of its amenities seems to have been little disturbed. He was able to send venison to his friends, and apparently even to market it. This at least is suggested by a letter of 1602 from one Humphrey Stoate of Cornhill, whom one may suspect to have been a victualler, which calls upon him to carry out a bond for the delivery of seven bucks and six does within six years, at the rate of one buck every summer and one doe every winter.<sup>2</sup> When James came to the throne, royal hunting took place at Woodstock, and an allowance was made to Lee for eight additional underkeepers.<sup>3</sup> And then trouble arose. In 1604 the King granted a reversion of the Lieutenancy, after the lives of Dyer and Lee, to two of his young favourites, James Lord Hay and Sir Philip Herbert, and made an unwelcome suggestion to Lee that he should offer his early resignation 'to gratify the two young gentill'. Lee wrote in perturbation to the Earl of Northampton and Lord Home of Berwick, and of course to Cecil.<sup>4</sup> The King had offered to discharge his debts, in view of the great rents he had paid for thirty-three years, Her Majesty being five times with him and His Majesty twice. Finding, however, the King's disposition, he had quenched the overmuch affection he carried to the place, so as to draw himself to a more private life. Time, the trier of truth, would discover his innocence was clouded to colour the imperfection of others. Incidentally this letter confirms the view that Lee became Lieutenant of Woodstock as early as 1571. Only four, however, of the five visits by Elizabeth, of which it speaks, can be precisely dated, in 1572, 1574, 1575, and 1592 respectively.<sup>5</sup> One contem-

<sup>1</sup> Marshall, *Suppl.* 18.

<sup>2</sup> *Ditchley MSS.*

<sup>3</sup> *Dillon Notes*, G. 251.

<sup>4</sup> *S.P.D.* ix, p. 152; H. xvi. 355.

<sup>5</sup> *Eliz. Stage*, iv. 88, 90, 92, 107.



plated in 1600 was almost certainly abandoned, although Lee may possibly have spent money in preparation for it.<sup>1</sup> More likely the fifth visit was during some year in the eighties, for which the progress records are not always very full. Lee's protests must have led to an abandonment of the King's design, since he certainly retained Woodstock to the end of his life. James may not have found the park in the best of condition. In 1606 Lee complained that venison was scarce, on account of 'the Kinges oft beinge here, the number of deere killed, meny carryed a waye to the newe park at Ritchmond, & exceeding meny dead, through the drowte of the springe was twefemonethe'.<sup>2</sup> In the autumn of 1607 there had been poaching in the park, and Lee was directed to send proofs to the Justices of Assize.<sup>3</sup> He wrote to Cecil acknowledging the King's respect to the liberties and privileges of the place, which had been diminished of late owing to his own decaying credit, but hoping to leave it in such sort as should become him.<sup>4</sup> In February 1608 he was granted £40 to buy hay for the deer during a particularly severe winter.<sup>5</sup> In 1609 a royal surveyor had prepared an estimate for the repair of waste and decays in the pales and walls of the park, and for a new wall desired by the King from the river near Bladon gate to the postern gate in the Queen's Park, and Lee suggested that the proceeds of a sale of timber should be devoted to replacing paling by a wall.<sup>6</sup> A grant of the manor to Henry Prince of Wales in 1610-11 does not appear to have affected the Lieutenancy.<sup>7</sup> But it was not until 1615, four years after Lee's death, that a pardon was granted to him and his executors for wastes and spoils committed during his tenancy.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. p. 180.

<sup>3</sup> *S.P.D.* xxviii, p. 380.

<sup>5</sup> *S.P.D.* xxxi, p. 401; cf. *William Shakespeare*, i. 479.

<sup>6</sup> *Dillon Notes*, G. 275; *S.P.D.* xlviii. 97.

<sup>7</sup> Marshall, 174.

<sup>2</sup> *Lansd. MS.* lxxxix, f. 191.

<sup>4</sup> *Cecil Papers*, cxxiii. 65.

<sup>8</sup> *S.P.D.* lxxxix, p. 299.







## THE MASTER OF THE ARMOURY

THE Elizabethan Armoury was a small administrative department of state, responsible for the provision and custody of the swords and body armour required for the forces of the crown and for the equipment of the royal tilts. It had its head-quarters in the Tower of London. Here it had come into existence by a gradual process of evolution during the Middle Ages. The Wardrobe of Household, which moved with the itinerant court and ministered to the King's needs below stairs, as the Chamber did in the upper apartments, had been supplemented during the thirteenth century by a Great Wardrobe in London, as a stationary repository for storable goods. And from this, in its turn, had budded off in the fourteenth century the Privy Wardrobe in the Tower, which took over also some functions of the Chamber, and became a storehouse, not only for armour, and for guns and ammunition, but also for jewels and other requisites of state. Finally, in the fifteenth century, its organization was broken up. The Keepership of the Privy Wardrobe became a sinecure. A separate Master of the Ordnance is traceable by 1414, and a Keeper or Serjeant, later also called a Master, of the Armoury by 1436.<sup>1</sup> The Tower, as a whole, remained under the custody of a Constable and a Lieutenant, and in 1601 Sir John Peyton, as Lieutenant, 'was still making it a grievance, or at least an excuse for requesting an increase of salary, that the Mastership of the Armoury had been detached from his post.'<sup>2</sup> Under the early Tudors the Mastership was held in succession by Sir Richard Guildford (1485-1506), his

<sup>1</sup> T. F. Tout, *Chapters in Administrative History*, iv. 349, 361, 389, 393, 439, 471, 473, 475, 479, 480; C. J. Foulkes, *Inventory of the Armouries of the Tower*, i. 18, 19, 59; Rymer, ix. 159.

<sup>2</sup> H. xi. 169.



son Sir Edward Guildford, Sir John Dudley, afterwards Duke of Northumberland (1533-44), Sir Thomas Darcy, afterwards Lord Darcy of Chiche (1544-53), and Sir Richard Southwell (1553-9).<sup>1</sup>

The office was housed in the old keep, known as the White Tower, in the centre of the Tower precinct. In the courtyard between it and the Beauchamp Tower on the west stood the block for executions more private than those appointed to be held on Tower Hill. It was to the window of the Armoury that Sir Walter Raleigh retired when the murmurs of the crowd showed resentment of his presence at the execution of the Earl of Essex in 1601. In addition to the main storehouse the Master held, under crown leases, various tenements in the precinct, with gardens on Tower Hill and a wharf on the river. He had some responsibility, which proved not to be in all cases very effective, for minor supplies of armour in most of the royal palaces, at Whitehall, Windsor, and Hampton Court, and notably at Greenwich, where show pieces of fine workmanship were displayed in the Green Gallery. Here, too, was a lodging in the tilt-yard for the Master or his deputy, and on the west of the palace stood the Armoury mills which housed a subsidiary establishment of technical workmen known as the Almain Armourers. They were not all Germans, for some were Flemings and some Milanese. Armour had long been made in England itself. The London Company of Armourers had its own claim to antiquity. It existed in some form by 1327, was incorporated as a fraternity or gild of St. George in 1423, received a charter in 1453, had its hall in Coleman Street, and ranked sixteenth among the London trading companies.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> ffoulkes, i. 61; *L.P.* xix (1), 494; *H.* i. 125; *S.P.D.* i. 30, 31; v. 23; Dasent, vii. 14. A statement that Southwell was again Master in 1575 is an error, based on a note (*S.P.D.* cvi. 31), possibly made in that year, of the fees he once had. He died in 1564 (*D.N.B.* from i.p.m.).

<sup>2</sup> Stow, *Survey*, i. 284; Lord Dillon and E. J. Barron in 2 *Lond. and Middlesex Arch. Soc.* ii. 300; ffoulkes in *Arch.* lxxvi. 41, citing T. Morley, *Hist. Armourers' Co.* (1878).





But the Almaines had been set up by Henry VIII, for the special purpose of acclimatizing the foreign art of chasing and inlaying decorative armour, to be used in the knightly exercise of the tilt. Payments for work at Greenwich were made to John Blewbery, Yeoman of the Armoury, from 1511 onwards.<sup>1</sup> A nominal list of the establishment in 1552 is preserved.<sup>2</sup> Under Elizabeth it included a locksmith, girdler, brigander, labourer, and twenty inferior workers.<sup>3</sup> A succession of master workmen can be traced. The first of these was Erasmus Kirkenor, whose first name puzzled the accountants, and appears as Asmus, Assamus, Asymus, and Asmer. He was granted an annuity of £10 on 27 October 1519. This was surrendered in 1566, and on 4 September of the same year Kirkenor made his will, which was proved on 2 June 1567.<sup>4</sup> He was probably followed as master workman by Jacobe Halder, who is first recorded as a hammerman at Greenwich on 13 July 1559. On 4 August 1561 he was received into the London Company of Armourers as a 'stranger', and in 1571 had a payment from them as search money. On 30 April 1572 he was granted letters of denization, being described as coming 'from the Dominion of the Emperor'. He made his will on 26 September 1606, and probably died soon after.<sup>5</sup> The craft was now fully naturalized, and the next master workman seems to have been an Englishman, one William Pickering. He came from the London Company, of which he was a member in 1588 and in 1590, when Sir Henry Lee was 'gratified' with £50 for hindering an outsider from setting up shop, and of which he served as Master in 1608-9. On 8 February 1601 he had a house in Fenchurch Street, at which the Earl of Essex and his followers, during their

<sup>1</sup> *L.P.* ii (2), 1451, 1468, 1470; ffoulkes, i. 48; F. H. Cripps-Day, *Tournament*, App. lxxv, from *Stowe MS.* 146, f. 109.

<sup>2</sup> *Stowe MS.* 571, f. 22<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> F. Peck, *Desiderata Curiosa*, i. 51.

<sup>4</sup> *L.P.* iii (1), 181, 365; (2), 976, 1534, 1555; ffoulkes, i. 50; E. A. B. Barnard in *The Times* (27 Jan. 1934).

<sup>5</sup> *Arch.* lxxvi. 51; Hasted, *Kent*<sup>2</sup>, i. 92.



abortive attempt to raise a revolt in the city, made a stop in the hope of procuring weapons. Essex asked for a hundred or fifty pikes, but Pickering replied that he had none for him, and that all he had should be ready to serve the Queen. Essex's men whined that their lord was in danger of being murdered and begged armour or a headpiece for him. But Pickering again refused, and when he saw a tall, black man, whom he believed to be Sir Christopher Blount, snatch six or seven halberds and serve them out to those who stood by, he shut his doors and summoned the constable. In April 1604 he obtained a reversion of the post at Greenwich, was in charge there by 1611 and in 1614, and died in 1618.<sup>1</sup>

The Master of the Armoury was entitled to an Exchequer fee of £31 8s. 9d., with an additional allowance of £66 13s. 4d. for his Keepership at Greenwich, and some profits from the crown leases on Tower Hill.<sup>2</sup> His staff consisted, apart from the Almain, of a Clerk and half a dozen Yeomen, one of whom was Yeoman of the Staves, and another was in special charge at Greenwich. Elizabeth's first master was Sir George Howard.<sup>3</sup> The precise date of his death is unknown, but it probably took place at least as early as 1578, since on 26 May of that year some tenements leased of him at Greenwich were in the hands of the crown, and on 7 July a warrant was issued to Sir Henry Lee for the repair of houses held by him as Master.<sup>4</sup> His appointment does not seem to have been definite when he wrote to Lord Burghley on 1 November in a year unspecified:<sup>5</sup>

I am come hither to the towne to know your pleasure and attende your leisure about the office of the Armorye of which

<sup>1</sup> *Arch.* lxxvi. 46, 52; Dillon, *Almain Armourers' Album*, Introd.; *S.P.D.* (Jac. I), vii, p. 92; Hasted<sup>2</sup>, i. 233; H. xi. 67.

<sup>2</sup> *Household Ordinances*, 254; *Dillon Notes*, W. 164.

<sup>3</sup> *Palmer's Index* (R.O.), cxxxvi. 46; *S.P.D.* xxiii. 11; xxxiv. 33; Add. xviii, p. 311.

<sup>4</sup> H. ii. 179; ffoulkes, i. 46, from *Auditors' Privy Seal Book*, 162.

<sup>5</sup> *Dillon Notes*, G. 98 from *Ditchley MSS.*







as yet I have reseaved no charge, and here that there is meany a headé prancke played by schuche as have been to long suffered synce the dethe of Sir George Howarde, yea and synce my going into the country, as conveying and carrying out of the Tower shuche furniture within that charge as they myght with less susspysion carry, shuche as yet apereth hath been their manner.

He promises to do his best to bring things to better order with Burghley's help, will wait upon him in town, and sends him 'a leperce present'. A formal patent of the Serjeanty (*sergio*) was issued to Lee on 9 June 1580.<sup>1</sup> A survey of the office was taken in August, and an estimate prepared for the housing of armour in the White Tower; and on 1 December an annual sum of £400 was allotted to Lee for the expenses of upkeep.<sup>2</sup> Lee seems to have taken his duties seriously, but not to have received all the support he hoped for. The demands upon the office during the period of the Armada were naturally heavy, and when the crisis was over Sir Francis Walsingham began to look into the defects revealed, and gave Lee instructions for a general view of the provision of armour and weapons throughout the realm. Lee replied, on 3 October 1589, in some perturbation.<sup>3</sup> He was still in the financial embarrassment of which he wrote to Walsingham in 1587. He really had not the means to repair to court until November, when he could stop two gaps with one brush. The armour was certainly out of order. He had often complained of it, both orally to the Queen and in writing, and would gladly have gone over and made provision, but it was little hearkened to. That in the Tower was so bad, he could not do withal. He was ashamed to see it, and pity it was it should be so with the armour of so great a princess. All his former toil, charge,

<sup>1</sup> *Dillon Notes*, W. 164, from *P. Roll*.

<sup>2</sup> ffoulkes, i. 19, 46; *S.P.D.* cxli. 42; cclxviii. 66; B. M. Ward, *Oxford*, 357, from *Privy Seal Book*.

<sup>3</sup> *Dillon Notes*, G. 139, from *S.P.D.* ccxxvii. 5.



and travail has been bestowed for nothing. Such armour as was made over and hanged up was delivered in sundry countries and to ships, and much lost by negligence and thinned by salt water. For himself, by God, he has not enough to bear his charge. He must, this very week, send up what little plate he has to answer his debt to Her Majesty. Last year he had to sell a farm he could ill spare for the same purpose.

In this same year of 1589 the London company had made representations in favour of the home manufacture of armour.<sup>1</sup> Large supplies had been imported, chiefly from Germany, by Sir Thomas Gresham for Elizabeth in 1560, but this had proved, when it came to be put to the test of actual warfare, to be both cumbrous in design and poor in quality, and altogether inferior to what could be bought in England at a much lower rate. But if English workmanship was good, some of the best raw material was still brought in from the Continent, and in particular, according to Lord Dillon, from Innsbruck in the Tyrol. It appears in office payments, he says, as 'Isebroke' steel. And here comes in a pretty bit of Shakespearean criticism. Othello has, according to the Quarto of 1622, 'a sword of Spaine, the Isebrookes temper'.<sup>2</sup> The Folio of 1623, probably a better textual authority for this play, has 'the Ice brookes temper'. The commentators quote Martial and Justin for a practice of cooling iron by plunging it into the cold waters of the Salo in Spain, and although Sir William Blackstone raised a doubt whether ice-brooks were usual in the climate of Spain, Malone aptly replied, 'How that fact may be, I know not, and I am confident Shakespeare did not inquire.' If he had, he would have found that Martial, at least, does use the words *gelat* and *gelidis aquis*. Lord Dillon, however, thinks that Othello's sword must have been a Spanish blade tempered at Innsbruck, and adds that sixteenth-century steel was tempered in warm water.<sup>3</sup> I find it rather

<sup>1</sup> *Lansd. MS.* lxiii. 5.

<sup>2</sup> v. ii. 253.

<sup>3</sup> *Shakespeare's England*, i. 132.







difficult to decide between the conflicting interpretations. No stress can be laid upon the capital I, since both the Quarto and the Folio freely capitalize substantives. Further evidence as to the inferiority of English iron is afforded by the following letter of 12 October 1590, from Sir Henry Lee to Lord Burghley, which describes an armour test carried out at some time before the death of Walsingham on 6 April in the same year.<sup>1</sup>

May it please your good Lordship in the time of M<sup>r</sup> Secretary who God hath latly called to his mercy, he was very desirus to prefere to the comodyty of some fewe as I take yt, certayne Ierne metell w<sup>h</sup> grewe or was made in Sropshire or ther abouts in the possessyons of a gentellman whos name I knowe not, never makynge me aquaynted w<sup>th</sup> his meanyng. To give the more credyte to that stufte to the armourers of London and to Jacobe the M<sup>r</sup> workman of Grenewhyche, the Counsell apoynt in there presence that S<sup>r</sup> Robarte Constable and my cossyn John Lee shoulde see a proof made w<sup>h</sup> by tryall proved most unfytt. After thys I beyng come to the Court and the matter earnestly followed by some, he intreted me (a new brest beyng sent owt of the contry of gret litenes and strengthe as he was made beleve) to cause another of the very same wayght to be made in her Ma<sup>tys</sup> office of Greenewhyche w<sup>h</sup> I presently parformed, then he intreted me to make a trial of them bothe w<sup>th</sup> all indyfference which I dyde in the presence of a chefe servant of his, and other gentlemen. I chose a good and stronge pystolle, I took very good powder and wayit it, so I dyde the bulletes and w<sup>h</sup> equall charge I tryed fyrste the one and then the other; that made in the offyce and of the mettell of Hungere helde out and more than a littell dent of the pellet nothings perced, the other clene shotte thurrowe and much tare the overpart of a beme the brest studde upon as long as my fyngeer. Thus muche for this Yenglyshe mettell. I most umbly beseach y<sup>r</sup> Lordship informe her Ma<sup>ty</sup> what prejudysse is lyke to follow to the wholle compene of the armorers, beyng very many y<sup>t</sup> lyve on that trade w<sup>th</sup> ther wyves and chyl dren, beyng powre men and shuch as may be evill spared in any grete scare or where warres may happen as well by sea or land. To drawe so

<sup>1</sup> *Arch.* li (1), 167, not quite *literatim*, from *S.P.D.* ccxxxiii. 92.



necessary a trade into few men's handes it will undowe the whole compene. The armour made of Yenglyshe stuff nawght, some one or fewe Inayched and all the rest bagge. Trewe yt is good armour demynishethe not the bowldnesse of a man and of the towe, my good Lorde, yt is better to have an armore of evill shape and good mettell than of good shape and evill mettell. But yf yt please youre good Lordshipe and the rest of my Lordes of her Ma<sup>tes</sup> Counsel, I do not see but ther may be hadde made here w<sup>th</sup> in the reme and upon a reasonable rate, both of good shape and good stuffe, and they to serve into her Ma<sup>tys</sup> store shuche a proportion yerely as may be agreed upon their abilitie considered, now as ytt is upon all occasions either by sea or lande for longe vyages or shorte trade of marchandyse ther is innough to be found, the worlde as yt is, lykely to use more hereafter than in the tyme paste therefore not to be spared. Under your correctyon ther is fewe that deserve more to be cherysshed, and this trade brought into the hands of few who wyll mayntaine no more than may enrych themselves, how will Her M<sup>ty</sup> be served or the dayly nede of others supplied? I am an umble suitor in their behalves w<sup>h</sup> I take to be necessary for my country and carytable for so powre a compene. And so I umbly take my leve prayinge for you and restynge to serve you as your Lordshipe hathe moste bounde me.

The chief officer of the Armoury establishment, after Lee himself, was the Clerk. The accounts from 1557 to 1561 are signed in this capacity by one William Painter.<sup>1</sup> A note of payments to him, drawn up for Burghley in 1561, is described in the calendar of the *Lansdowne MSS.* as a 'discovery of his receipts and deceipts', and this phrasing, together with what is known of his career elsewhere, suggests that he probably had some hand in those defalcations of which Lee was complaining at the time of his appointment.<sup>2</sup> Painter was still Clerk in 1567, but the accounts for 1561-80 are missing, and Lee himself signs those for 1580-1610. In 1589 the post became vacant, and was given to William Sugden, who was

<sup>1</sup> *L.I.* ii. 73, 278.

<sup>2</sup> *Lansd. MS.* v. 19.







succeeded in 1601 by John Benion.<sup>1</sup> Lee wrote to Secretary Davison that he gave consent to Sugden's appointment, although he had already nominated 'a man of mine and one very near regarded of me'.<sup>2</sup> This was probably the 'cossyn John Lee', who was present at the armour test. He was given an inferior post as Yeoman in 1594.<sup>3</sup> Later he is described as *Custos Stauri*, and it was clearly he, and not the Clerk, who acted as Lee's personal deputy in the office, when he was away at Woodstock or elsewhere, and carried out most of the routine business.<sup>4</sup> His name is often conjoined with Sir Henry's in the numerous warrants and other documents concerning the supply of arms and their issue for service against the Armada or in Ireland, which are to be found among state papers. It must have been through Sir Henry's influence that he sat as member for Woodstock in the Parliaments of 1589, 1593, and 1597.<sup>5</sup> His services to the Armoury continued after he obtained in 1595 or early in 1596 an additional post of his own as Keeper of the Great Store in the Ordnance Office. His letter of application to Sir Robert Cecil on this occasion gives some biographical details, with the help of which it is possible to trace his precise relationship to Sir Henry, and to throw some light upon his earlier career.<sup>6</sup> Among many varieties of fortune, he says, none had happened to him more grievous than to find Cecil under the impression that, before his departure beyond seas, he had been in some disgrace at home. He will never be undutiful to the Queen, and never had been, 'ever since I first saw her Highness, being a boy at my poor father's house, then her Majesty's servant, where it pleased her Highness to be lodged six or seven weeks together, while her house at Assheridge, where her Majesty then usually lay, was aired and cleaned'. She

<sup>1</sup> *S.P.D.* cclxxix. 52.

<sup>2</sup> *S.P.D.* ccxxiv. 81; *Dillon Notes*, G. 138.

<sup>3</sup> *Dillon Notes*, W. 72, from *P. Roll*.

<sup>4</sup> *Dillon Notes*, W. 164, from *Cotton MS. Titus C. i*, f. 254; *Dasent*, xiv. 233; xxix. 557; *H.* vi. 272; viii. 530; xi. 550.

<sup>5</sup> *Official Return*.

<sup>6</sup> *H.* v. 200.



had personally thanked him for an offer of service, which was directed to Lord Burghley and had continued for six or seven years. Burghley had procured him an annuity of £100 payable by Ludovic Greville and his son, which he has now lost by the death of one Hopkins, a fugitive. That is what drives him to his suit for a place in the Tower, which Burghley has promised Lady Russell to further. It is the mention of Ashridge which enables us to identify this John Lee with one of the younger sons of Sir Henry's great-uncle, Roger Lee of Pitstone. He was born about 1535. At his father's death in 1552 or 1553 he received with his brother Thomas a money legacy, unless and until they 'enjoy my farm called Harlington Grange'.<sup>1</sup> This was in Bedfordshire, and formed a parcel of the manor of Pulloxhill, in the same county, which had been leased by Roger from the crown. This manor itself Elizabeth granted to John in 1563 and he sold it in 1566.<sup>2</sup> He married Elizabeth, daughter of William Arden of Hawnes in Bedfordshire, a brother of the Thomas Arden whom some have identified with Shakespeare's maternal great-grandfather of that name.<sup>3</sup> According to his own account, given in circumstances which called for plausibility rather than strict veracity, he left England for religion's sake and went to Scotland.<sup>4</sup> He also travelled to Jerusalem, returned to England, quarrelled with his wife's family, and finally came to Antwerp, leaving his brother Edmund to collect moneys due to him. At Antwerp he lived for five years at the 'Golden Stag' in Meyers Straet, and here we find him in 1570, ostensibly perhaps engaged in merchandise, but in fact employed as a secret political agent by Burghley. Antwerp, then as always the main channel of commercial traffic with northern Europe, was a danger-point for Elizabeth's government. The Spanish Netherlands held many English exiles. Some had left

<sup>1</sup> 2 *Gen.* viii. 230.

<sup>2</sup> *V.H. Beds.* ii. 376.

<sup>3</sup> *Harl. Soc.* xix. 3; Chambers, *William Shakespeare*, ii. 29.

<sup>4</sup> *S.P.D. Add.* xxiii. 17.







England from unwillingness to accept the religious settlement early in the reign, and were living quietly. They were joined in 1563 by a certain John Story, once a professor of civil law at Oxford, who had repeatedly conformed under Edward VI, taken an active part against heretics as chancellor to Bishop Bonner under Mary, conformed again under Elizabeth, then committed an offence, and escaped trial by a flight to Flanders, where he held a post under the Inquisition. By 1570 had also arrived fugitives from the northern revolt of the previous year, including the Earl of Westmorland, the Countess of Northumberland, old Richard Norton and his son Francis; and with their advent the Netherlands became an active centre of intrigue against Elizabeth. The hope of the Catholics was in the Duke of Alva, sent by Philip as Governor in 1567, and in the strained relations between England and Spain due to the seizure by Elizabeth of a treasure intended for the pay of Alva's troops, the convoy of which was driven by privateers and storms into English harbours. An embargo had been laid on English imports to the Netherlands, and the goods of foreigners confiscated on both sides. But Philip's continental preoccupations left him unready for war, and although Alva was willing enough to connive at the assassination of Elizabeth, he received with coldness the suggestions of the exiles for a military invasion of England. John Lee's main business was to watch the movements of the exiles and to report to Burghley what he could learn of their negotiations with Alva. The most dangerous among them he thought to be Story and a certain John Prestall, who is described by Camden as 'a magical impostor against the Queen's life', and who had, in fact, as far back as 1563, disseminated a prophecy of her approaching death. Lee reported that the pair were now engaged in a scheme for killing the King of Scots and marrying Mary to a Catholic husband. And he scored an early success by planning the kidnapping of Story, who was seized by



Englishmen while searching a vessel for heretical books, conveyed to England, and there tried and executed for complicity in the northern revolt. Lee's communications with Burghley seem to have passed at first through John Fitzwilliams, the governor of the house of English Merchant Adventurers at Antwerp, and after his death through one Thomas Brown, a merchant in London. The earlier of them betray some doubt as to whether he was fully trusted by his paymasters, which lends some colour to Cecil's belief in 1595 that he had been under displeasure. But there is nothing to suggest that he was other than a faithful spy. Possibly he was a Catholic, as other members of his branch of the Lee family certainly were. At any rate he was able to pose as one, and apparently to get accepted as an interpreter at interviews between the exiles and Alva. Some of them, however, certainly knew that he was in touch with Burghley, and used him as a go-between in petitioning to be allowed to make their submission to Elizabeth and return home. Among these were the Earl of Westmorland, Francis Norton, and even at one time John Prestall, who gave him in 1571, at the time of the Ridolfi plot, a hint for the Queen to be careful about her meat and drink. In 1572 Lee had a serious illness, and this was shortly followed by his arrest. His negotiations for the exiles had for some time brought suspicion upon him, and now Story's widow accused him of responsibility for the fate of her husband. For several months he lay in prison while evidence was sought against him, but was able to send piteous appeals to Burghley through Thomas Brown for money and assistance. Lady Hungerford, he suggests, would do her best to help him, if Sir Henry Lee would move the Earl of Sussex and Sir Henry Sidney and her father Sir William Dormer, to whom he has always been beholden, to write to her. And would not also my Lord of Leicester write to Norton, to intervene with the Duke on behalf of one who has for long time proved his faithful solicitor? All







at first was of no avail. On 24 January 1573 Lee was apprehensive of torture. But by now a reconciliation had been patched up between Elizabeth and Philip, and he became hopeful that intervention might be possible. Could not, he writes in March, the Queen write to Alva or apprehend some one countervailing? It will go hard with him, Thomas Brown tells Burghley, because he serves Burghley, whom they hate. On 6 April he was called up for examination by officials of the Governor of Antwerp, and then gave the account of his earlier life which I have already cited, and did his best to explain away his possession of heretical writings, and his relations, of which evidence had apparently been found, with Burghley, Brown, Norton, Prestall, Lady Hungerford, and Lady Elinor Pelham, a sister of the Earl of Westmorland, who had written to him in the hope of bringing about the Earl's submission. Here comes a statement that Lady Elinor had advised Lee to lie hid on account of the death of the eldest son of his brother, although how he can have been concerned with that must remain obscure. She had also asked him, he said, to write to Burghley and Leicester, of whom he had known little before, but he only told them things well known in England. That is not likely to have been believed. Anyway Lee went back to prison, which he found 'very loathsome'. Meanwhile Burghley had approached Alva through Antonio de Guaras, then acting, in the absence of an ambassador, as the agent of Spain in England. This, says Lee, only stirred up his enemies. Finally, the intercession of Lady Hungerford, herself an exile, whose family were neighbours of the Lees in Bucks, seems to have been successful. She had worked for Lee, she tells him, 'as though you had been my own child'. The last we hear of the matter is in a letter of 1 June 1573 from de Guaras to Alva, in which he conveys Leicester's thanks for Lee's release. Obviously he was no longer of any use to Burghley as a spy, and perhaps his reward is



to be found in the annuity chargeable upon the Grevilles, which he had lost in 1595.<sup>1</sup>

Lee's letter of 1590 appears to be the source of the statement in the *Dictionary of National Biography* that in that year he became Master of the Ordnance, which was the office responsible for the provision of cannon, muskets, and ammunition. But that is an error. The Ordnance, like the Armoury, had quarters in the Tower, where the smaller guns were kept. Its main store was in the Minories hard by, and an Artillery Yard to the north of the City, beyond Bishopsgate, served for a practice-ground. It was a much larger establishment than the Armoury, having in Elizabeth's time, as its principal officers beneath the Master, a Lieutenant, a Surveyor, Keeper and Clerks of the Great and Small Storehouse, Clerks of Deliveries, and a Master Gunner.<sup>2</sup> Naturally the two offices, which had a common origin and between them covered the ground of military provision, remained in close relations. Under the early Tudors the same man had generally held both Masterships. But it was not so under Elizabeth. Her Master of the Ordnance, from 12 April 1560 to his death on 20 February 1590, was Ambrose Dudley, Earl of Warwick. In 1583 his nephew Sir Philip Sidney became his deputy, with a promise of a joint grant, which was not, however, made until a year before his death on 17 October 1586.<sup>3</sup> When Warwick's own death became imminent, Lord Grey of Wilton and Sir John Perrot sued for the reversion.<sup>4</sup> But for some years the post was kept vacant, and the office left in

<sup>1</sup> H. i. 466; ii. 26; *S.P.F.* x. 95, 160, 223, 472; *S.P.D.* lxxxiii. 31; *S.P.D. Add.* xx. 2, 6, 14, 16, 17, 21, 30, 33, 34, 37, 46, 55, 56, 62, 66, 91, 96, 97; xxi. 4, 14, 18, 23, 28, 30, 31, 32, 42, 59, 66, 71, 80, 93, 97; xxiii. 4, 5, 12, 14, 17, 20; J. M. B. C. Kervyn de Lettenhove, *Relations politiques des Pays-Bas et de l'Angleterre*, vi. 2-5, 39, 86, 99, 113, 140, 210, 347, 405, 553, 567, 579, 633, 636, 687, 726, 727, 751; R. Lechat, *Les Réfugiés Anglais dans les Pays-Bas*, 10, 12, 42, 44, 45, 57, 61, 69, 71, 72, 79-81, 88, 89, 95-8.

<sup>2</sup> F. Peck, *Desiderata Curiosa*, i. 51.

<sup>3</sup> H. R. Fox Bourne, *Sidney*, 282.

<sup>4</sup> Lodge, ii. 392.







charge of its Lieutenant. This at the time of Lee's armour trial was the Sir Robert Constable mentioned in Lee's letter.<sup>1</sup> He died in 1591 or 1592 and was succeeded by Sir George Carew.<sup>2</sup> Finally, on 10 March 1597, Elizabeth bestowed the vacant Mastership on the Earl of Essex.<sup>3</sup>

John Lee was still in embarrassed circumstances during the early days of his Keepership. Some years before Lord Burghley, as Master of the Court of Wards, had granted him the wardship of one William Cholmley. A moiety of this he had assigned to Sir Henry, who stood security for him to a creditor. The creditor was pressing for his money, but the ward, now of age and in the service of Burghley, would not compound for his marriage. The price of it had been referred to Burghley for arbitration, and both John and Sir Henry wrote to Robert Cecil in the hope of getting a decision.<sup>4</sup> Nor can John have found the Keepership itself a bed of roses. The Ordnance was a weak spot in Elizabethan administration. In the sixteenth century, indeed, the modern conception of a department of state, in which the inferior officers act in strict subordination to an acknowledged chief, had not yet established itself. Each officer was appointed under a separate patent, to perform the traditional duties of his place, and each spent much of his time in defending his rights and privileges against his fellows. Some attempt had been made to secure discipline in the Ordnance and Armoury by the appointment of a supervisory commission of high officers of state which from time to time was called upon to intervene.<sup>5</sup> But high officers of state were busy men, who might make general regulations, but could hardly secure day-by-day control. Moreover the Ordnance in particular, which had the handling of

<sup>1</sup> H. iii. 409, 454; iv. 182.

<sup>2</sup> H. iv. 202.

<sup>3</sup> *Penshurst MSS.* ii. 248, 251, 252; Birch, *Elizabeth*, ii. 296.

<sup>4</sup> H. vi. 10, 18.

<sup>5</sup> *Foedera Materials*, iii. 123 bis.; H. vii. 119; ix. 204; xiii. 235; *S.P.D.* cclxviii. 13.



much crown money, was honeycombed, like the Navy which it supplied, by financial corruption. Stores were illegitimately sold; balances were put to private uses; poundage was exacted from purveyors. Burghley was taking measures against abuses in 1578, but they did not prove effective.<sup>1</sup> To some extent the internecine warfare acted as a safeguard. There was a great explosion in the days of the Earl of Warwick. Sir William Pelham, then Lieutenant, had become perturbed at the destitution of the store, and had blamed Sir Philip Sidney, who got into trouble with Burghley for speaking of it to the Queen.<sup>2</sup> He had told her, he explained, that 'the money neither my Lord nor any of his had ever dealt with'. And here we come once more upon William Painter, who had combined the Clerkship of the Ordnance with that of the Armoury since the beginning of the reign. He has a place in literature as the author of *The Palace of Pleasure*, the two volumes of which in 1566 and 1567 he dedicated respectively to his two Masters, Warwick and Howard. But he seems to have been a thoroughly discreditable official. It was against him, with others, that charges of misappropriation were first brought by John Powell the Surveyor. They became the subject of litigation in the Exchequer, and Painter was called upon to repay for his share nearly £2,000. Powell, however, pursued his researches and now implicated Warwick as well as Painter. In return Painter and his friends brought similar accusations against Powell himself.<sup>3</sup> Estimates made during later disputes of the Queen's total losses from fraud, as amounting to £60,000 or even £100,000, were probably exaggerated. But it is not surprising to learn that the defeat of the Armada might have been even more conclusive but for a shortage of ammunition in the English ships, although indeed those of Spain were not much better off.

The attack upon Warwick is not likely to have been

<sup>1</sup> *Lansd. MS.* xxvi. 27.

<sup>2</sup> Fox Bourne, 310.

<sup>3</sup> *Palace of Pleasure* (ed. Jacobs), liii sqq.; H. iii. 280; v. 347; xi. 551, 560.







pressed, in view of his standing with the Queen, and even Painter was able to maintain his position in the Ordnance up to his death in 1595. By John Lee's time the office was rid of him, and of most of the other participants in those early transactions. But internal dissensions continued. Carew was soon disheartened with his 'troublesome place' and with 'fellows in office so corrupt and of such malicious spirits as but in hell I think their matches can hardly be found'. He was doing his best to correct abuses, but only incurred hatred. Powell, then employed elsewhere, he seems to have thought as bad as any of them. If he returned, all hope of reform would be gone, and Carew must sue for employment elsewhere. This was in 1594. A year later, although Powell did not return, things were little better; Carew writes that he has reformed some 'monstrous abuses', but 'the Queen is daily troubled with information and new devices, as if corruption in the office were yet in his infancy and daily increasing'. Carew's 'heart is wounded, for slanders true or false evermore leave a stain'. He much desires a new post.<sup>1</sup> Equally outspoken, a little later, was Stephen Riddlesden, who succeeded Painter as Clerk. In 1599, indeed, he refused to exchange his post for the less remunerative Controllership of the Mint. But in 1600 he was ready to profess himself 'overwearied with a company of wayward and malignant spirits, that would have nothing well done but that which they do to their own disgrace and the prejudice of her Majesty's service'.<sup>2</sup> Things are not, indeed, likely to have grown better under the Mastership of the Earl of Essex, since Carew was a close adherent of the Cecils, whose power Essex was doing his best to undermine. From Ireland, in 1599, the Earl sent complaints that his authority was little regarded in the office. His own talents indeed, such as they were, did not lie in the direction of sound administration. 'You know', writes one of his followers to another, 'the multi-

<sup>1</sup> H. iv. 555; v. 377.

<sup>2</sup> H. ix. 346; x. 244.



plicity of his business at his being in England would not permit his honourable apprehensions to descend unto the ordering of those meaner services; much less can he now be at liberty, in this infinity of important matters, to attend the same'.<sup>1</sup> Essex was responsible in 1598 for the appointment as Surveyor of one John Davis, who shortly afterwards went with him to Ireland as Master of Ordnance in the army there, and left the Earl's secretary, Edward Reynolds, as his deputy.<sup>2</sup> Davis was knighted by Essex, and returned with him in the autumn of 1599. Essex was disgraced and suspended from his functions.<sup>3</sup> Carew in turn went to Ireland as President of Munster in February 1600, leaving his uncle George Harvey as his deputy.<sup>4</sup> Between Davis and Harvey friction soon arose. In this John Lee, who, like his cousin Sir Henry, probably tried to steer an even course between the Cecil and Essex interests, was unfortunate enough to become involved. By June 1598 Essex had appointed Henry Jacob to be Keeper of the Small Store in succession to one Fowkes. He has been identified with Jacobe Halder, the master workman of the Armoury at Greenwich. It seems to me more likely that he was a son, since he was already gone from the Ordnance office, and therefore probably dead, by 4 August 1599, when Essex had nominated one Cholmley to the Keepership, whereas the master workman was still alive in 1606.<sup>5</sup> I take it that, as a result of the Earl's fall, the nomination of Cholmley never became effective, for Carew, on leaving for Ireland in February 1600, was able to appoint Richard Palfreyman, a servant of his own, and already familiar with the ways of the Ordnance, at least since 1595. During Carew's absence, he was also acting as Sub-treasurer of the office.<sup>6</sup> The dividing line between the functions of the Keepers

<sup>1</sup> H. ix. 235, 340.

<sup>2</sup> H. viii. 440; ix. 145, 159; Birch, *Eliz.* ii. 396.

<sup>3</sup> H. x. 178.

<sup>4</sup> H. x. 100; *Harl. Soc.* xiv. 582.

<sup>5</sup> H. viii. 242; ix. 270, 340.

<sup>6</sup> H. x. 100, 416; xi. 500; xii. 302; *S.P.D.* cclxviii. 13 (misdated 1598).







of the Great Store and the Little Store seems to have been rather indeterminate. In 1598 John Lee wrote to Robert Cecil that a 'remain' or inventory, taken according to custom on the death of Fowkes, had disclosed a waste of £750, and begged that he might not be charged with it, and that Jacob might be held responsible for what was committed to him.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, when Palfreyman was appointed in 1600, Lee claimed some authority over him, and Palfreyman apparently responded by refusing, as Sub-treasurer, to pay an allowance of £20, which he said that Lee was irregularly drawing. Lee was supported by Sir John Davis, and there was a row royal, which is described by George Harvey in a letter to Robert Cecil on 4 April. As Deputy Lieutenant for Carew, he wants aid 'for suppressing such violent humours as are come amongst us'. On 13 March he had been present at a meeting of officers, during which Palfreyman questioned Lee's allowance as having been 'given and set down in the quarterbook in the interim betwixt the death of Sir Robert Constable and the entrance of Sir George Carew, by the officers only without any further warrant'. Davis then intervened, called Palfreyman a 'saucy companion', and said that the suggestion was an indignity not to be endured by the officers, and that if the matter belonged to him, as it did to Lee, Palfreyman would not dare to speak in it. It is, I think, clear from the sequel that Davis himself and other officers were drawing similar allowances. On 3 April Harvey again went to the office, willed the 'companions', which seems to mean the inferior clerks, to depart, but told Palfreyman to stay. Davis protested that Palfreyman was no officer, although, says Harvey, his predecessors always had a place in the office, and in a choler called his own servants and thrust Palfreyman out. Palfreyman appealed to Sir John Peyton, the Lieutenant of the Tower, before whom Davis said that Harvey was insolent and only a deputy.<sup>2</sup> Harvey

<sup>1</sup> H. viii. 242.

<sup>2</sup> H. x. 100.



had had other troubles with Stephen Riddlesden, the Clerk, into which I need not go. Sir John Peyton also sent Cecil an account of the affair, and suggested the desirability of some direction as to the respective powers and duties of the officers.<sup>1</sup> A letter from Lady Carew to Cecil for favour to Palfreyman shows that by 21 May the case between him and Lee had been referred to the Attorney-General.<sup>2</sup> Probably he advised that it was a matter for determination by the supervising commission. They, however, took no action until the end of the year. Meanwhile further disputes led Harvey to describe Davis to Cecil on 28 November as 'a shepstar's son, hatched in Gutter Lane', who was plotting that no man should serve her Majesty in the office but himself, and such as depended on him.<sup>3</sup> On 7 December Lord Treasurer Buckhurst appointed the following day for a hearing of the officers by himself, Cecil, the Lord Admiral, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, no doubt as commissioners.<sup>4</sup> This took place, but did not stop further representations from both Lee and Palfreyman. On 12 December Lee sent in a 'computation' of abuses committed by Palfreyman 'greatly to the prejudice of his master', ever since Lee had been an officer. He had forborne to speak of these before the Lords, in regard of Cecil's honourable opinion of Sir George Carew.<sup>5</sup> The 'computation' is probably to be found in an undated document which charges Palfreyman with detaining, not only the writer's allowance, but also monies from Her Majesty's subjects 'in title of poundage'.<sup>6</sup> Palfreyman in reply repeated the statement that the allowance had been 'indirectly erected' by the officers before the advent of Carew. His own salary is £20 as an inferior clerk. He accounts to his master and is put to expenses. As to the receipts of poundage money from merchants and others who bring munition into the store, and have great gain by the

<sup>1</sup> H. x. 101.<sup>2</sup> H. x. 153.<sup>3</sup> H. x. 399.<sup>4</sup> H. x. 411.<sup>5</sup> H. x. 416.<sup>6</sup> H. x. 330.







Queen, these are only 4*d.* and 6*d.* in the £1 and do not amount to much above £100.<sup>1</sup> The Elizabethan polity had not, of course, grasped the principle that the only way to secure honest administration is to pay adequate salaries and forbid emoluments. In another undated memorandum addressed to the commission, Palfreyman asks for redress against untrue statements by Lee that he has usurped his office and has not delivered security.<sup>2</sup> The decisions of the commission were probably on the lines of yet another undated document, which may be a report by Sir John Peyton, whom they had already directed as early as May 1599 to take a survey of the office, with the help of two Auditors of the Imprests. It opens with some general recommendations for reform and a more careful distinction of the duties of officers, and for the removal of all guilty of embezzlement or false entries. The question of poundage seems to have been left untackled. As regards the specific dispute, Lee should be remitted to try the authority which he claims over Palfreyman by law. The Sub-treasurer has been instructed to forbear paying the yearly allowances which the officers have recently given themselves and their clerks.<sup>3</sup> In February 1601 Sir John Davis was implicated in the revolt of Essex, and lost his post. There were many applicants for it, including George Harvey, but I cannot ascertain whether he or another was successful.<sup>4</sup> The dispute among the subordinates, however, continued. Apparently John Lee took the course offered him by the commission, and sued Palfreyman in the Exchequer. Carew's mother protested to Cecil.<sup>5</sup> Finally, on 11 June 1602, Lee apologized to Cecil for moving the Queen to refer the matter to a Lord Chief Justice and others, and offered to submit himself to Cecil's sentence in the matter.<sup>6</sup> In another letter of the same year he begged to

<sup>1</sup> H. xi. 560.      <sup>2</sup> H. xiv. 152.      <sup>3</sup> *S.P.D.* cclxviii. 13 (misdated 1598).

<sup>4</sup> H. x. 86; xi. 37, 135, 244, 426; xiv. 172.

<sup>5</sup> H. xi. 500.

<sup>6</sup> H. xii. 191.



be allowed to alienate his office.<sup>1</sup> Whether he did so, I do not know.

Sir Henry Lee seems to have kept out of the imbroglio with Palfreyman. Indeed, as will appear in a later chapter, he had a sufficiently serious preoccupation of his own to reflect upon, when it was at its height. But he too, from time to time, had official grievances to pour into the sympathetic, one hopes, if perhaps slightly wearied ears of Cecil. In July 1601 the mistake was committed of issuing a joint warrant to the Ordnance and Armoury for military supplies required in Ireland and the Netherlands. Both Sir Henry and John complained that there should have been separate warrants. The same thing, says John, had happened in Essex's time, and the joint warrant was then withdrawn. And now the Privy Council felt moved to write to Sir Henry, as 'a person well favoured by her Majesty and very worthy of our good will', that nothing prejudicial to him was intended.<sup>2</sup> That is, I suppose, as far in the direction of an apology as a peccant ministry can ever be expected to go. It may have been the earlier warrant of Essex's time which led Sir Henry to protest in December 1598 against some who 'would cunningly intrude themselves into my office'.<sup>3</sup> Or perhaps an attempt was being made to undermine Lee's rights of patronage. It was certainly so on 29 January 1600, when he wrote:

Being old, lame, and not able to perform my accustomed service about the Queen, I beseech you to defend me in my aged absence from such greedy procurers as would bury me before my death, especially in the matter of the small offices in my gift as Master of the Armoury.<sup>4</sup>

There were troubles, too, about premises, both at Greenwich and at the Tower. That at Greenwich was of long standing. In 1590 the Privy Council had before them the claim of Lee and his Yeoman of the Staves to a

<sup>1</sup> H. xii. 575.

<sup>2</sup> H. xi. 282, 550; Dasent, xxxii. 108.

<sup>3</sup> H. viii. 530.

<sup>4</sup> H. x. 18.







tenement used during sixty years for the keeping of staves and other necessities of the Armoury, which was now alleged to be the property of Lord Compton, who had leased it to Jane Atkins, widow of a Groom of the Poultry, and her brother John Carr, a Clerk of the Household. A decision was more than once deferred, owing to the absence in Scotland and subsequent illness of Compton, and finally the Council declared in favour of Carr and ordered the punishment of the Yeoman for his expulsion. In 1594, however, Lee was still complaining of the intrusion of Carr into this or possibly another house at Greenwich, which he held for his under officer to dwell in.<sup>1</sup> The Tower dispute was in 1600. The Lieutenant of the Tower, probably set on by the Gentleman Porter, who had already wronged Lee on the Tower Hill, has now withheld from his servant the key of the East Gate, which had been held by Lee and his predecessors for fifty years, to give access to the Armoury tenements on Tower Wharf.<sup>2</sup> On 29 July 1601, the day, as it happened, after that flattering letter from the Council, Lee was seeking a new recipient for his woes in Sir John Stanhope, the Queen's Vice-Chamberlain.<sup>3</sup> The joint warrant was one of them. But another was the loss of a little room adjoining the Green Gallery at Greenwich, in which, ever since his giving up of arms, had been kept the personal armour of Henry VIII, 'as a show of the goodliness of his person and the greatness of his mind'. It is a wrong to the dead and Her Majesty that they should now, without Lee's knowledge or the Queen's consent, have been taken from their place of long continuance and thrown upon heaps in a corner. And he goes on to reflect more generally upon the danger entailed by denuding Windsor Castle and Hampton Court of any provision of armour against a sudden attempt, since he well remembers how a shortage at Whitehall

<sup>1</sup> Dasent, xix. 110; xx. 193; H. iv. 531, 576.

<sup>2</sup> H. x. 174, 180.

<sup>3</sup> H. xiv. 181.



itself in the time of Wyatt's rebellion had obliged Queen Mary to remove for safety to the Tower.

John Lee was dead by January 1604, when a 'remain' or inventory of the store was taken and signed by Sir Henry and others, including Lee's nephew and personal servant, Lee Symonds. The charge was committed to John Cowper, presumably one of the Yeomen.<sup>1</sup> Symonds may have been acting by this time as Lee's personal deputy. He was not yet on the establishment, but Lee obtained for him a Yeoman's post which fell vacant later in the year, and when Symonds died in 1606 or 1607, leaving £10 'to my honorable ffreinde M<sup>rs</sup> Vavasor', secured the reversion for one Thomas Vavasour, of whom we shall hear again.<sup>2</sup> Another inventory was taken after Lee's own death in 1611, and gives some interesting details of the armour stored at Greenwich. There were show pieces in the Green Gallery, and much field, tilt and footman's armour, including 1,050 tiltstaves with burrs and coronells, in the great chamber at Mr. Pickering's, the work house, the cutting house, the locksmith's office, and the staff house. The Mastership of the Armoury passed to Sir Thomas Monson.<sup>3</sup>

Lee's appointment as Master of the Armoury was due to the reputation he had already earned as a champion in the tilt. I will not here repeat what I have written elsewhere as to the nature of that beloved spectacular and quasi-military exercise of the Elizabethan court.<sup>4</sup> To Lee's prominence we have the testimony of his memorial tablet.<sup>5</sup>

In Courtly Justs his Sovereignes Knight he was.

This is elaborated by William Scott, who tells us that he

<sup>1</sup> *Ditchley MSS* (H.M.C.), ii. 31.

<sup>2</sup> *S.P.D.* (1603-10) p. 178; App. p. 533; 2 *Gen.* ix. 24; *Lansd. MS.* xc. f. 36; Hasted, *Kent*<sup>2</sup>, i. 280; *Dillon Notes*, W. 88, from *P. Roll*.

<sup>3</sup> *S.P.D.* (Jac. I), lxiv. 71; Hasted, *Kent*<sup>2</sup>, i. 64.

<sup>4</sup> *Eliz. Stage*, i. 139 sqq.

<sup>5</sup> App. G.







acquired 'skill and prooffe in armes' on the continent in his youth, and that on his return to England—

He Shone in all those fayre partes became his profession & Vowes, honouringe his highlye gracious M<sup>ris</sup> with Reysinge those later Olimpiads of her Coronation Justs and Tournaments (Therby Tryinge & Treininge the Courtier in those Exercises of Armes that keepe the Person bright & steeled to Hardinesse, That by Softe Ease Rustes & Weares) wherin still himselfe lead and Triumphed, caryinge away the Spoyles of Grace from his Sovereaigne & Renowne from the Worlde for the fairest Man at Armes & most complete Courtier of his Times.

And if mortuary praise is to be discounted, we have the confirmation of William Segar, King of Arms, who gives an account in his *Honor, Military and Civill* (1602) of the 'triumphs' on Elizabeth's Accession, or, as it was often incorrectly called, Coronation Day, and writes:<sup>1</sup>

Here will we remember also (and I hope without envie so may) that these annuall exercises in Armes, solemnized the 17. day of November, were first begun and occasioned by the right vertuous and honourable Sir *Henry Lea*, Master of her Highnesse Armorie, and now deservingly Knight of the most noble Order, who of his great zeale, and earnest desire to eternize the glory of her Maiesties Court, in the beginning of her happy reigne, voluntarily vowed (unlesse infirmity, age, or other accident did impeach him) during his life, to present himselfe at the Tilt armed, the day aforesayd yeerely, there to performe in honor of her sacred Maiestie the promise he formerly made. Whereupon the Lords and Gentlemen of the sayd Court, incited by so worthy an example, determined to continue that custome, and not unlike to the ancient Knight-hood *della Banda* in *Spaine*, have ever since yerely assembled in Armes accordingly. . . . Summarily, these annuall Actions have bene most nobly perfourmed (according to their times) by one Duke, 19 Earles, 27 Barons, 4 Knights of the Garter, and above 150 other Knights and Esquiers.

Segar's comparison with the Spanish knighthood has led to some confusion. There is not in fact any evidence for

<sup>1</sup> Bk. iii, ch. 54.



the existence in this country of any formal Order or association of Knights Tilters. The tilts on Accession Day, as at other times, seem to have been performed by the ordinary lords and gentlemen attendant upon the court and by the Pensioners, who formed a part of the Royal Household. Thomas Pennant, writing his *Of London* in 1790, thought that he had found the register of an association in a manuscript which was exhibited to the Society of Antiquaries in 1723 and was sold in 1781 among the books of Margaret Duchess of Portland. Pennant's account was followed by several other writers.<sup>1</sup> Meanwhile the manuscript had disappeared. It turned up again in 1894 and is now in the Victoria and Albert Museum at South Kensington. It is not, however, the register of an association at all, but the album or pattern-book of armours kept by the Almain Armourers at Greenwich. An admirable reproduction was edited by Lord Dillon in 1905. There are detailed drawings of twenty-nine suits of armour made for twenty-four wearers whose names are given. These are the supposed members of Pennant's imaginary association. Most of them can be identified. One of the suits is marked M.R. and its wearer may have tilted under Mary. Others are marked E.R. Some of the names, however, certainly belong to the earlier years of Elizabeth's reign. Presumably, therefore, some of the armour was made in Erasmus Kirkenor's time. But most of it appears to date from that of Jacobe Halder, and two or three pieces are recorded in marginal notes as 'made by me Jacobe'. An early theory that this was Jacobe Topf, an Innsbruck armourer once in the employ of the Archduke Ferdinand, is now abandoned in favour of Halder.<sup>2</sup>

The album contains drawings of three suits made for

<sup>1</sup> Pennant, 96; L. Aikin, *Elizabeth*, ii. 9.

<sup>2</sup> Dillon in *Arch. Journ.* lii (1895), 113; *Almain Armourers' Album* (1905); B. Dean in *Arch. J.* lxxvii (1920), 226; C. J. Foulkes in *Archaeologia*, lxxvi (1927), 41.







Sir Henry Lee, and by good fortune large portions of two of these are preserved.<sup>1</sup> The first is white armour, with bands of engraved ornament in black and gilt, and on the shoulder-pieces the representation of a bird flying to the sun. Against the main drawing is noted, 'This felde armour was made beyond see', and against that of some subsidiary pieces, in the same hand, 'Thes tilte peces wer made by me Jacobe'. The second is russet, with gilt bands and ornament. On the breast is a bird with wings displayed, standing on a knot. A note describes Lee as Master of the Armoury. Of this suit the helmet is now in the Tower Armoury and a locking gauntlet in the collection of the Armourers and Brasiers Company. The jambs, sollerets, burgonet, and buffe have found their way to the Lifruskammer at Stockholm, presumably through a Count Bielke, whose portrait of about 1670 in the Nordeske Museum shows him wearing part of the suit.<sup>2</sup> Lee's third armour is again white, decorated with narrow bands of multicoloured enamel. On the breast-plate, the shoulder-bands, the turner-joints of the brassards and the fingers of the right-hand gauntlet is a monogram of the initials A.V. This suit also was made while he was Master of the Armoury. Nearly the whole of it was presented to the Armourers and Brasiers Company by its Master William Carter in 1768. A William Carter was Mayor of Woodstock early in the nineteenth century.<sup>3</sup> When Thomas Hearne was at Ditchley in 1718, he saw in one of the outhouses 'strange armour which belonged to the ancestors of the Earl of Litchfield'. Some of it, he says, was very odd. 'I wonder how the Heroes and Warriors in old time could bear such a weight as the Armour certainly was.'<sup>4</sup> Lord Dillon used to lament the entries in Ditchley accounts, a few weeks after Hearne's visit, of 1*d.* a day paid to a man for 'getting the old armour ready to be wayed', and of

<sup>1</sup> *Album*, plates xv-xx.

<sup>3</sup> *Arch.* lxxvi. 41.

<sup>2</sup> ffoulkes, i. 179, pl. xxi.

<sup>4</sup> Hearne, *Collections*, vi. 192.



£7 4s. 6d. received for over fourteen hundredweight of it from Mr. Mott the brazier. This would represent, he reckons, some twenty complete suits.<sup>1</sup> But it seems clear that Lee's personal armour was preserved, and probably what was sold consisted of the ordinary corselets, head-pieces, and weapons kept by the Lees, as by other country gentlemen, for the use of their retainers in times of disturbance. A note-book kept by Lee Symonds records the storing of some arms sent from Greenwich in the wool-house at Ditchley during 1603.<sup>2</sup>

Of Lee's tilting we have, for the most part, only scanty notes. The Ditchley manuscript preserves a good many of the challenges and speeches, full of romantic conventions and courtly flattery, with which such proceedings were prefaced and accompanied.<sup>3</sup> But these do not all appear to have been written for Lee. And although Segar refers the initiation of the annual Accession tilts to the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, it is not until 1581, shortly after Lee became Master of the Armoury, that the numerous records of them, generally at Whitehall, make a start. Accession Day, indeed, does not seem to have been honoured by anything beyond bell-ringing up to about 1570 when, according to a sermon of Thomas Holland, a more elaborate observance was initiated at Oxford by Thomas Cooper, then Vice-Chancellor, which thereafter 'flowed by a voluntary current all over this realm'. Camden also makes mention of 'hastiludes' on this day in 1570, and it is quite possible that Lee or Dyer or both of them helped Cooper by holding one at Woodstock or elsewhere in the neighbourhood.<sup>4</sup> If so, somebody was unfortunate enough not to be able to take a normal part in it himself. A speech of a Damsel of the Queen of the Fairies, which may have been delivered during a visit to Woodstock, reminds Elizabeth of an occasion on

<sup>1</sup> *Arch. Journ.* lii. 113.

<sup>2</sup> *Dillon Notes*, W. 173.

<sup>3</sup> App. D.

<sup>4</sup> Holland, Πανήγυρις *D. Elizabethae* (1601), N. 4, R. 4<sup>v</sup>; Camden, *Eliz.* 191; cf. *Eliz. Stage*, i. 18, 141.







which, while many knights determined, 'not far hence', to pay their vows and show their prowess in remembrance of the most happy day, there was one 'so enchanted by a chaunce, as he was neyther able to chardge staffe, nor strike blowe', who nevertheless, 'fayre mounted with his staffe on his thighe', thrust himself into the jousts, and 'was content to bide the brunt of the strongest Knight, and the blowes of the sturdiest staves (a strainge enduring for a valient man)'.<sup>1</sup> It is a little mysterious. Was the 'enchantment' merely an accident or attack of rheumatism, or was Dyer already in disgrace? Lee was certainly well enough to joust in the following year. With three others he issued a challenge for a tilt, tourney, and barriers. They represented themselves as four Knights Errant who found in the court a number of excellent men of arms, 'and yet (as it wer) of late fallen asleepe from eny kinde of such exercise', which they proposed to revive. Lee was the Green Knight. The meeting, originally planned for Shrovetide, was put off to the first three days of May. A 'cheque' or scoring sheet is extant, which shows that Lee ran fifty-one courses in the tilt against seven 'defendants' and broke thirty-two lances. The Earl of Oxford, however, did better still, for he broke as many lances, and also scored three 'attaints', or direct hits on head or breast.<sup>2</sup> Lee fought at barrier during the visit of the Duc de Montmorenci on 14 June 1572, and probably also in the tourney by torchlight on the following day, for which the names are mostly lost.<sup>3</sup> There were jousts at Woodstock during the Queen's visit of 1575.<sup>4</sup> On 27 February 1576 Frederic Perrenot, Sieur de Champagny, a Flemish Catholic agent, paid a visit to Christopher Hatton at

<sup>1</sup> App. D, no. iv.

<sup>2</sup> *Bodl. Ashm. MSS.* 837, f. 245; 845, f. 164; La Mothe, *Correspondance*, iv. 88; *Rutland MSS.* i. 92.

<sup>3</sup> *Dillon Notes*, G. 54, from *Cotton MS. Titus*, E. x; La Mothe, v. 18; Segar, 195.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. pp. 85, 282.



Eltham, where he was entertained with 'force musicques et comedies'. On the next day Hatton took him to Greenwich, where the Queen was not in residence, and a tilt was run for his benefit. His report makes no mention of Lee, but Segar tells us that Lee took part, and that Champagny described him as 'excellently mounted, richly armed, and indeed the most accomplished Cavaliero I had ever seene'.<sup>1</sup> Lee's challenge on this occasion is in the Ditchley manuscript.<sup>2</sup> He is 'a straunge Knight that warres against hope and fortune', and clad in green will maintain the cause of Despair. On 15 May 1581 came a very spectacular tilt before François de Bourbon, Dauphin of Auvergne, and other French commissioners, which is known as 'The Fortress of Perfect Beauty', and is described in a pamphlet by Henry Goldwell. Here 'in the midst of the running came in Sir Henry Leigh, as unknowne, and when he had broken his six staves, went out in like manner againe'. A scoring sheet for the tourney is unfortunately blank.<sup>3</sup> The first recorded Accession tilt at Westminster was on 17 November of the same year, when Lee ran against Philip Sidney.<sup>4</sup> On 6 December 1584, when the parties were *nupti* and *coelibes*, his opponent was Thomas Vavasour.<sup>5</sup> An April 5, on which he ran the 'course of the field' with the Earl of Cumberland and Sir Thomas Gorges, was probably that of 1586.<sup>6</sup>

The tilt, with its heavy armour, was an arduous, if not a dangerous, pastime for a man no longer in the prime of life, and in 1590 Lee, then aged 47, bethought him that it was time to abandon it. Characteristically he made his retirement the occasion for an elaborate *spectacle*. Of this we have two accounts. One is in the *Polyhymnia* of George Peele, which describes in resounding verse the

<sup>1</sup> Kervyn de Lettenhove, viii. 221; Segar, 200. My '1585' (*Eliz. Stage*, iii. 405; iv. 101) was an error. I had not seen Champagny's report.

<sup>2</sup> App. D (ii).

<sup>3</sup> *Eliz. Stage*, iv, 63; *Bodl. Ashm. MS.* 845, f. 166.

<sup>4</sup> *Ashm. MS.* 845, f. 165; cf. *Arcadia*, ii. 21.

<sup>5</sup> *Ashm. MS.* 845, f. 168; cf. App. D (viii)-(x).

<sup>6</sup> *Letters of Philip Gawdy* (Roxburghe Club), 13.







Accession tilt of 17 November in that year.<sup>1</sup> Lee's opponent was George Clifford, Earl of Cumberland.

Mighty in arms, mounted on puissant horse,  
Knight of the crown, in rich embroidery,  
And costly fair caparison charged with crowns,  
O'ershadowed with a wither'd running vine,  
As who should say, 'my spring of youth is past',  
In corselet gilt of curious workmanship,  
Sir Henry Lee, redoubted man-at-arms,  
Leads in the troops, whom worthy Cumberland,  
Thrice-noble earl, accoutred as became  
So great a warrior and so good a knight,  
Encounter'd first, y-clad in coat of steel,  
And spear in rest, right ready to perform  
What long'd unto the honour of the place.  
Together went those champions, horse and man,  
Thundering along the tilt; that at the shock  
The hollow gyring vault of heaven resounds.  
Six courses spent, and spears in shivers split.

Twelve other couples then did their devoir, and when all was over, it was to the Earl of Cumberland that Lee solemnly resigned his place of honour as the Queen's Knight.

And now, as first by him intended was,  
In sight of prince, and peers, and people round,  
Old Henry Lee, Knight of the Crown, dismounts;  
And in a fair pavilion hard at hand,  
Where holy lights burn'd on the hallow'd shrine  
To Virtue or to Vesta consecrate,  
Having unarmed his body, head and all,  
To his great mistress his petition makes;  
That, in regard and favour of his age,  
It would so please her princely majesty  
To suffer him give up his staff and arms,  
And honourable place wherein he served,  
To that thrice-valiant earl whose honour's pledge  
His life should be. With that he singled forth  
The flower of English knights, the valiant Earl

<sup>1</sup> Bullen, *Peele*, ii. 281.



Of Cumberland; and him, before them all,  
 He humbly prays her highness to accept,  
 And him install in place of those designs;  
 And to him gives his armour and his lance,  
 Protesting to her princely Majesty,  
 In sight of heaven and all her lovely lords,  
 He would betake him to his orisons,  
 And spend the remnant of his waning age,  
 Unfit for wars and martial exploits,  
 In prayers for her eternal happiness.  
 Whereat she smiles, and sighs, and seem'd to say,  
 'Good woodman, though thy green be turn'd to grey,  
 Thy age past April's prime and pleasant May,  
 Have thy request; we take him at thy praise:  
 May he succeed the honour of thy days!'   
 'Amen,' said all, and hope they do no less;  
 No less his virtue and nobility,  
 His skill in arms and practice promiseth.  
 And many champions such may England live to have,  
 And days and years as many such as she in heart can crave!

For some further details of the ceremony we may turn once more to William Segar.<sup>1</sup>

On the 17. day of November, *Anno 1590.* this honourable Gentleman together with the Earle of *Cumberland*, having first performed their service in Armes, presented themselves unto her Highnesse, at the foot of the staires under her Gallery window in the Tilt yard at *Westminster*, where at that time her Majestie did sit, accompanied with the *Vicount Turyn* Ambassador of *France*, many Ladies, and the chieftest Nobilitie.

Her Majesty beholding these armed Knights comming toward her, did suddenly heare a musicke so sweete and secret, as every one thereat greatly marveiled. And hearkening to that excellent melodie, the earth as it were opening, there appeared a Pavilion, made of white Taffata, containing eight score elles, being in proportion like unto the sacred Temple of the Virgins Vestall. This Temple seemed to consist upon pillars of Pourferry, arched like unto a Church, within it were many Lampes burning. Also, on the one side there stood an Altar covered

<sup>1</sup> Segar, bk. iii, ch. 54; cf. Lodge, ii. 418.





with cloth of gold, and thereupon two waxe candles burning in rich candlesticks, upon the Altar also were layd certaine Princely presents, which after by three Virgins were presented unto her Majestie. Before the doore of this Temple stood a crowned Pillar, embraced by an Eglantine tree, whereon there hanged a Table; and therein written (with letters of gold) this prayer following.

ELIZAE. &c.

Piæ, Potenti, Fœlicissimæ virgini,  
Fidei, Pacis, Nobilitatis vindici,  
Cui Deus, Astra, Virtus,  
Summa deuouerunt  
omnia.

Post tot Annos, tot Triumphos,  
Animam ad pedes positurus  
Tuos,  
Sacra Senex  
affixit Arma.

Vitam quæ etam, Imperium, famam  
Æternam, æternam,  
precatur tibi,

Sanguine redempturus suo.

Vltra columnas Herculis  
Columna moueatur Tua.

Corona superet Coronas omnes,  
Ut quam cœlum fœlicissime  
nascenti Coronam dedit,

Beatissima moriens reportes cœlo.

Summe, Sancte, Æterne,  
Audi, exaudi,  
Deus.

The musicke aforesayd, was accompanied with these verses, pronounced and sung by M. *Hales* her Majesties servant, a Gentleman in that Arte excellent, and for his voice both commendable and admirable.

My golden locks time hath to silver turnd,  
(Oh time too swift, and swiftnes never ceasing)  
My youth gainst age, and age at youth hath spurnd.  
But spurnd in vaine, youth waineth by encreasing.



Beauty, strength, and youth, flowers fading beene,  
Duety, faith, and loue, are rootes and ever greene.

My Helmet now shall make an hive for Bees,  
And lovers songs shall turne to holy Psalmes:  
A man at Armes must now sit on his knees,  
And feed on pray'rs, that are old ages almes.  
And so from Court to Cottage I depart,  
My Saint is sure of mine unspotted hart.

And when I sadly sit in homely Cell,  
I'le teach my Swaines this Carrol for a song,  
Blest be the hearts that thinke my Sovereigne well,  
Curs'd be the soules that thinke to doe her wrong.  
Goddesse, vouchsafe this aged man his right,  
To be your Beadsman now, that was your Knight.

The gifts which the Vestall maydens presented unto her Majesty, were these: A vaile of white exceeding rich and curiously wrought: a cloke and safegard set with buttons of gold, and on them were graven Emprezes of excellent devise: in the loope of every button was a noble mans badge, fixed to a pillar richly embrodered.

And here (by way of digression) let us remember a speech which this noble Gentleman used at such time as these buttons were set upon the garment aforesaid: I would (quoth he) that all my friends might have bene remembred in these buttons, but there is not roome enough to containe them all; and if I have them not all, then (said hee) those that are left out, may take exception. Whereunto another standing by, answered: Sir, let as many be placed as can be, and cause the last button to be made like the Character of &c. Now Godamercie with all my heart (quoth the Knight), for I would not have given the *Cætera* of my friends for a milion of gold.

But to returne to the purpose, These presents and prayer being with great reverence delivered into her Majesties owne hands, and he himselfe disarmed, offered up his armour at the foot of her Majesties crowned pillar; and kneeling upon his knees, presented the Earle of Cumberland, humbly beseeching that she would be pleased to accept him for her Knight, to continue the yeerely exercises aforesaid. Her Majesty graciously accepting of that offer, this aged Knight armed the Earle, and





mounted him upon his horse. That being done, he put upon his owne person a side coat of blacke Velvet pointed under the arme, and covered his head (in lieu of an helmet) with a buttoned cap of the countrey fashion.

After all these ceremonies, for divers dayes hee ware upon his cloake a crowne embrodered, with a certain mōtto or device, but what his intention therein was, himselfe best knoweth.

Now to conclude the matter of assignation, you shall understand, that this noble gentleman, by her Maiesties expresse commandement, is yerely (without respect unto his age) personally present at these military exercises, there to see, survey, and as one most careful and skilfull to direct them; for indeed his vertue and valour in Arms is such as deserveth to command.

The following lines may be related to this occasion.<sup>1</sup>

Her Majestie resembled to the crowned pillar  
(Ye must read upward)

Is blisse with immortalitie.  
Her trymest top of all ye see,  
Garnish the Crowne.  
Her iust renowne  
Chapter and head.  
Parts that maintain  
and womanhead,  
Her mayden Raigne  
In - te - grie - tie.  
In ho-nour and  
With ve-ri-tie  
Her roundnes stand,  
Strengthen the State.  
By their increase,  
With-out de-bate,  
Concord and peace,  
Of her sup-port.  
They be the base  
With stedfastnesse,  
Virtue and grace,  
Stay, and comfort.  
Of Albion's rest,  
The Sounde Pillar  
And scene afarre  
Is plainly exprest,  
Tall, stately, and strayt,  
By this noble pourtrayt,

<sup>1</sup> J. Nichols, *Progresses of Elizabeth*<sup>2</sup>, ii. 50, printed after his extract from



Pcele's verses, more clearly than Segar's narrative, indicate that it was Lee's own armour which he put upon Cumberland. It has been suggested that this was none other than the magnificent blue and gold suit, long preserved at Appleby, but now at New York, which Cumberland is represented as wearing in a miniature by Nicholas Hilliard.<sup>1</sup> This has an ornament of endossed E's, joined by two annulets and a cross-bar, which might conceivably, although I doubt it, be intended to combine the Queen's monogram with that of H.L. It is not, of course, one of the three suits in the Almain Album. The A.V. suit there might well date from the later days of Lee's tilting, but its associations were not those best fitted, as will appear in the next chapter, to do honour to the Virgin Queen. Nor can we say whether the horse on which Lee mounted Cumberland was that of which Joshua Sylvester has recorded the name in his translation (1603) of Du Bartas, where he inserts a compliment to<sup>2</sup>—

*Hardy Laelius*, that Great Garter-knight,  
Tilting in Triumph of *Elizas* Right.  
(Yeerely the Day that her deere Raigne began)  
Most bravely mounted on proud *Rabican*,  
All in guilt armour, on his glistening Mazon  
A stately Plume, of Orange mixt with Azure,  
In gallant Course, before ten thousand eyes,  
From all Defendants bore the Princely Prize.

Rabican, it may be added, came from Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*, where Rabicano is the horse of Astolfo.<sup>3</sup> Lee's device of the Crowned Pillar was perhaps the development of an *impresa* ascribed to him by William Camden, which may also be his obscure device of 1590.<sup>4</sup>

*Sir Henry Lee* upon some Astrologically consideration, used to her late Majesties honour, the whole constellation of *Ariadnes* Segar, as the first of a miscellaneous collection of verses on Elizabeth, without indication of source.

<sup>1</sup> P. A. Daniel in *Athenaeum* (8 Feb. 1890); *Cat. Exhibition of British Art* (1934), nos. 927, 1477 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> *Devins Weekes and Workes* (1605), p. 135.

<sup>3</sup> Tr. Harington, xxii. 5.

<sup>4</sup> *Remains* (1605), 174.





crowne, Culminant in her nativitie, with this word: CÆLVMQVE  
SOLVMQVE BEAVIT.

The Latin prayer inscribed upon the 'Table' is found in a somewhat longer form in the Ditchley manuscript.<sup>1</sup> The verses sung by Robert Hales, who is traceable as a royal lutenist from 1568 to 1603, also appear, without any explanation of their relation to the tilt, as 'A Sonnet', at the end of Peele's *Polyhymnia*. Here they are in the third instead of the first person, and there are other slight variants, making a rather better text. They are generally taken to be the work of Peele, but it is not inconceivable that they are Sir Henry Lee's own. Copies found elsewhere are all in the third person, but give little guide to authorship. One set to music in John Dowland's *First Book of Aires* (1597) is anonymous. So is one of three manuscript texts.<sup>2</sup> Two others are superscribed with Lee's name, but this may be only intended for a title. One of these is in a transcript of a collection belonging to Sir John Harington.<sup>3</sup> The other is subscribed 'O. St. John', and is in the hand of Oliver St. John, later Earl of Bolingbroke, who was only born about 1580, and can therefore have been no more than a copyist.<sup>4</sup> Certainly Sir Henry Lee sometimes attempted verse. Loricus, who stands for him in the language of his pageantry, 'summoned the witnesse of depest conceiptes, Himmes & Songes & Emblemes, dedicating them to the honor of his heauenlye Mistres'. These may not have been all his own. But the following verses, also set as anonymous by John Dowland in his *Second Book of Aires* (1600), are much in the vein of the tilting 'sonnet', and are in fact confused with it in a manuscript version, where they are subscribed 'q<sup>d</sup> Sir Henry Leigh', and given as said 'in yeelding up his Tilt staff'.<sup>6</sup>

Times eldest sonne, olde age, the heyre of ease,  
Strengths foe, loves woe, and foster to devotion,

<sup>1</sup> App. D. no. xvii.

<sup>2</sup> Add. MS. 33963, f. 109.

<sup>3</sup> Add. MS. 28635, f. 88<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> Stowe MS. 276, f. 2.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. p. 291.

<sup>6</sup> Bodl. Rawl. Poet. MS. 148, f. 75<sup>v</sup>.



Bids gallant youthes in martial prowes please,  
As for himselfe hee hath no earthly motion,  
But thinks sighes, teares, vowes, praiers and sacrifices  
As good as shewes, maskes, justes or tilt devises.

Then sit thee downe, and say thy *Nunc demittis*,  
With *De profundis*, *Credo*, and *Te Deum*,  
Chant *Miserere*, for what now so fit is  
As that, or this, *Paratum est cor meum*?  
O that thy Saint would take in worth thy hart,  
Thou canst not please hir with a better part.

When others sings *Venite exultemus*,  
Stand by and turne to *Noli aemulari*;  
For *quare fremuerunt* use *Oremus*,  
*Vivat Eliza* for an *Ave Mari*;  
And teach those swains that lives about thy cell,  
To say *Amen* when thou dost pray so well.

Finally, Lee's authorship is acknowledged in the print of another piece, also set by John Dowland, but found in Robert Dowland's *A Musical Banquet* (1610).

Farre from triumphing Court and wonted glory,  
He dwelt in shadie unfrequented places,  
Times prisoner now he made his pastime story,  
Gladly forgets Courts erst afforded graces.  
That Goddesse whom hee servde to heau'n is gone,  
And hee on earth, in darknesse left to moane.

But loe a glorious light from his darke rest  
Shone from the place where erst this Goddesse dwelt,  
A light whose beames the world with fruit hath blest,  
Blest was the Knight while hee that light beheld:  
Since then a starre fixed on his head hath shinde,  
And a saint's Image in his hart is shrinde.

Ravisht with joy, so graced by such a Saint,  
He quite forgot his Cell and self denaid,  
He thought it shame in thankfulnessse to faint,  
Debts due to Princes must be duely paid:  
Nothing so hatefull to a noble mind,  
As finding kindnesse for to prove unkinde.





But ah poore Knight though thus in dreame he ranged,  
Hoping to serve this Saint in sort most meete,  
Tyme with his golden locks to silver changed  
Hath with age-fetters bound him hands and feete,  
Ay mee, hee cryes, Goddesse my limbs grow faint,  
Though I times prisoner be, be you my Saint.

An occasion for this may be found in a visit to Lee at his 'Rest' by Anne of Denmark, which is upon record.<sup>1</sup> It clearly harks back to the tilting sonnet. It is not of much account, but it must be confessed that, if either of the two earlier poems was by Lee, his verse style must have been a good deal better than that of his very cumbersome prose.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. p. 211.



## VI

### THE HERMIT OF DITCHLEY

TWO years after his resignation of the Championship, Sir Henry Lee had once more the felicity of providing an entertainment during the progress of Elizabeth. The text of this can now, with the help of the Ditchley manuscript, be reconstructed, probably in full, although much of the *spectacle* with which it was accompanied must be matter for inference.<sup>1</sup> Mr. R. W. Bond, in 1902, put the performance at Quarrendon, and ascribed the authorship, on some very slight parallels of sentiment and style, to John Lyly.<sup>2</sup> We do not, however, know that Elizabeth was ever at Quarrendon, and certainly the progress of 1592, the itinerary of which is very clear, did not take her there.<sup>3</sup> Moreover, Sir John Harington, who preserved two of the pieces, gives the locality as Woodstock, where the court lay from 18 to 23 September, and the author of these pieces as Richard Edes, of Christ Church, Oxford, who is known to have been a poet. There is no reason why Edes should not have written the whole entertainment, no doubt on themes indicated by Lee himself. The action was spread over two days. On 20 September the Queen was conducted to the gate of a grove. Here she was told by a warder knight that, if she entered, it must be at her own venture, since the grove was full of the sighs and mournful songs of hopeless people. And so, when undeterred by the warning she presses forward, it proves. She is greeted successively by a second knight, by some maidens, and by a third knight, all of whom lament the hard fate which the inconstancy of the women and the folly of the men in loving them have entailed.

Alas ther is but one of vs  
A woman & she is not thus.

<sup>1</sup> App. E.      <sup>2</sup> Bond, *Lyly*, i. 404, 453, 526.      <sup>3</sup> *Eliz. Stage*, iv. 107.





Apparently both ladies and knights are imprisoned in the trees. But they live in hope, waiting for the appearance of a morning star, appointed by the secret fate to bring their enchantment to an end. The Queen passes through the grove, and at the farther gate a second warder tells her of yet another dolorous knight, whom he has heard lamenting in the neighbourhood. This is merely incidental, for the sake of flattering Elizabeth's scholarship with the recital of a Latin dialogue between the dolorous knight and Echo. The action now shifts to a rustic hall or bower, on the walls of which hang pictured emblems. Here lies an old knight in a perpetual sleep, watched by his page, who bids the Queen look upon the charmed pictures, for if her wisdom can reveal their secrets his master may be healed. They were the matter of his overthrow, through an offence given to the fairy queen. Elizabeth's wisdom is equal to the task. The old knight awakes, and at the same moment it must be assumed that the enchantment of the grove is broken, and the victims of inconstancy released. The old knight now tells his tale. It was 'not far from hence, nor verie long agoe', that 'the fayrie Queene the fayrest Queene saluted, that euer lyved'. There were 'justes and feates of armed Knights', and a feast in a bower, dighted with the enchanted pictures. Many were curious to know their meaning, including 'one who should not be denied'. But the fairy queen thwarted them. By her infernal art she conveyed the pictures hither, and enjoined the knight to keep watch on them.

Euer to tarrie, neuer to departe:  
Not bowing downe my face vpon the ground,  
Beholding still the Piller that was crounde.

He was one whom in elder time she had dearly loved, and who had often proved her favour. Now many ladies would come and endeavour to untie the charms, and their miss would bring them to inconstancy. To none of these



must he lend an eye. But alas! he has proved faithless to his trust. Forced by fortune, he has become 'a stranger ladies thrall'; and as a just punishment for this the fairy queen has cast him into a deadly sleep. Now the date of his distress is expired.

O peareles Prince! O presence most desired!  
By whose sole resolution this ys found  
That none but Princes, Princes mindes expounde.

In this tale, it will be observed, the fairy queen seems to be sometimes a doublet of Elizabeth and sometimes distinct, while we must take it that in the old knight Lee himself, the guardian of the crowned pillar, is shadowed.

The entertainment now broke off, and the Queen went to dinner, after which came in two of the ladies from the wood, with a song of gratitude for their deliverance.

To that Grace that sett us free,  
Ladies let vs thankfull be.

They then began a long prose *débat*, in which one maintained the cause of constancy, and the other that of inconstancy. They offer the symbolic gifts of a loose gown and a girdle to bind it. Finally, Inconstancy confesses herself converted, not by argument, but by the silent influence of her who listens, and will be, even as she is, *Semper eadem*. A final song sums up the issue.

Heauie harted Knightes are eased,  
And light harted Ladies pleased,  
Constant nowe they vowe to be,  
Hating all inconstancie.  
Constant Piller, constant Crowne,  
Is the aged Knightes renowne.  
Happie houre, happie daie,  
That Eliza came this waie.

All, however, was not yet over, and in particular there





was more to be heard of the crowned pillar. On the following day Elizabeth was greeted by the chaplain of the 'owlde Knight, nowe a newe religious Hermite', upon whose humble dwelling she is bidden to look. He is Loricus, whose hard adventures had once been told 'not farr from this Coppies'. The chaplain reminds her of his yearly jousts, and of the hymns and songs and emblems which he was wont to dedicate to the honour of his heavenly mistress. Now envy and age have cut him off from the court, and he has lived in divine speculation, under the cool shadows of green trees, still keeping 'a verie courte in his own bosome, making presence of her in his soule, who was absent from his sight'. And here he has built a poor lodging or two, for himself, the chaplain, and a page, which he calls the Crown Oratory, and on the entrance of which he has 'aduansed his deuise after the Romaine fashion in a Piller of perpetuall remembrance'. Presumably the Oratory forms a scenic background for this part of the entertainment. Now Loricus has fallen ill, and is at the point of death. They have laid him at his bidding in 'this poor houell before the gates', since *subsilire in coelum ex angulo licet*, and from it he now sends to the Queen his last will and testament. It proves to be in verse, a recommendation to others to serve as he has served, formally subscribed by Loricus as *Columnae coronatae custos fidelissimus*, and witnessed by Stellatus as *Rectoriae coronatae capellanus*, and by Renatus as *Equitis coronatae servus observantissimus*. Probably the Queen now entered the Oratory and regarded the dying man, for the final speech is by the page, who announces the miraculous recovery of his master from the trance in which she left him, and reads, as a supplement to the will, its legacy, 'which he disposed the rather whilst he yet lyueth, than lefte to be disposed after his deathe, that you mighte vnderstande howe he alwaies preferred the dede of the liuinge before the hopes of the ded'. And the



legacy, in prose, and similarly subscribed and witnessed, is of the whole Manor of Love, with all its appurtenances, which are detailed in the technical language of a legal conveyance.

The versifying of the entertainment, although slight, is not without its touches of grace, and Richard Edes or another has shown considerable ingenuity in linking its themes with those both of the Woodstock entertainment of 1575, in which Loricus and the fairy queen with her cryptic tables made their first appearance, and of the Tiltyard entertainment of 1590, in which the device of the crowned pillar was adopted.<sup>1</sup> The locality is twice given as 'not far from' that of 1575, and I think that it was probably not Woodstock itself, but Lee's own abode at Ditchley, some four miles away, to which the Queen may well have gone for a night. There is, indeed, some evidence of doing up of the house in that year, and a tradition of a bed-chamber once occupied by Elizabeth was still preserved in 1718.<sup>2</sup> Probably Stellatus and Renatus were real personages. Lee held in 1599 a lease from Christ Church of the rectory of Spelsbury, the parish in which Ditchley stands, and Richard Edes was backing him in an attempt to secure an extension of it.<sup>3</sup> But unfortunately the names of the Elizabethan vicars of Spelsbury are not preserved. Renatus may possibly have been one Cary Reynolds, more properly Carew Reynell, who took part in the Accession tilts of 1593 and 1595.<sup>4</sup> I am led to this identification by a tiltyard speech, preserved in both the Hamper and the Ditchley manuscripts.<sup>5</sup> Here a knight, disabled by age, but 'once your fellow in arms and first celebrator in this kind', begs that tilters will accept to their fellowship, 'in his father's room, this only son of mine, young, and honest, and toward, though I

<sup>1</sup> Cf. pp. 84, 138.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. p. 56.

<sup>3</sup> H. ix. 234.

<sup>4</sup> *Bodl. Ashm. MS.* 1109, f. 154<sup>v</sup>; Peele, *Anglorum Feriae* (ed. Bullen, ii. 354).

<sup>5</sup> App. D, no. iii.







say it', and that whichever of them is like to have next access to the Queen will present 'this little' from him as the yearly fine of his faith. The speaker is clearly Lee, and the son can therefore only have been a son in chivalry, and may well have been Lee's page. The speech perhaps indicates that the Queen herself was not present on this occasion. Carew Reynell was a younger son of Richard Reynell of East Ogwell in Devonshire. Lee may have recommended him to the Earl of Essex. In 1597 he started in the *Foresight* for the Islands Voyage, but was so overcome with sea-sickness that he had to be put ashore, or he would have been dead in a week. Later in the year he was clearly an adherent of Essex, but was mistrusted by Lord Henry Howard as one that felt smart with every scratch that could not pierce a tougher hide. He may have been a relative of Essex's secretary Edward Reynolds, to whom he writes familiarly as 'Good Ned'. He served in Ireland in 1599, and was there knighted. After the disgrace of Essex he begged leave to attend him as the Queen's servant; he is said to have been Cupbearer. But he seems to have evaded taking any active part in the outbreak of 1601 and although arrested was soon released. Later in the year he was once more tilting at court.<sup>1</sup>

The pious and contemplative days of the hermit of Ditchley were not, however, without their mundane amenities. Of this there is already a hint in the entertainment. The old knight had neglected his charge of the pictures, because he had become 'a stranger lady's thrall'. It was a thralldom which was destined to endure for the rest of Sir Henry Lee's life. 'His dearest deare', says John Aubrey, 'was M<sup>rs</sup> Anne Vavasour'.<sup>2</sup> Of Anne Vavasour there is much to relate. Her portrait, in magni-

<sup>1</sup> *Harl. Soc.* vi. 235, 240; C. Worthy, *Devonshire Parishes*, ii. 104; A. Gorges, *Islands Voyage* (1607), in S. Purchas, *Hakluytus Posthumus*, xx. 38; Devereux, *Essex*, i. 427, 447; Birch, *Eliz.* ii. 359; H. iv. 601; v. 52; viii. 562; ix. 146, 330, 439; x. 43; xi. 13, 103, 121, 540; xiv. 173.

<sup>2</sup> *Brief Lives*, ii. 31.







ANNE VAVASOUR  
*Ascribed to* MARCUS GHEERAERTS







ficent Elizabethan costume, long hung at Ditchley, and has more than once been exhibited in London.<sup>1</sup> The lady's reputation was already tarnished when she became Lee's mistress. She was the daughter of Henry Vavasour of Copmanthorpe in Yorkshire, by Margaret daughter of Sir Henry Knyvet, a cadet of the Knyvets of Buckenham in Norfolk. She had a brother Thomas Vavasour, and sisters Frances and Margaret, who married respectively Sir Thomas Shirley and Miles Southwell.<sup>2</sup> The Knyvets had played their parts in the royal household since the days of Henry the Eighth. Anne's uncle, Thomas Knyvet, was a Groom of the Privy Chamber. Her aunt, Katharine Knyvet, was a Maid of Honour, and afterwards Lady of the Bedchamber, to Elizabeth. She married, first Henry Lord Paget, the brother of Lee's wife, and then Sir Edward Cary, the father of the first Lord Falkland, who became the husband of Lee's grand-niece, Elizabeth Tanfield. It was, no doubt, through the Knyvet influence that Anne Vavasour came to court, and was appointed in 1580 a Gentlewoman of the Bedchamber.<sup>3</sup> More than one copy of verses bears witness to her attractions. The following is anonymous, but addressed to her, in two manuscript versions.<sup>4</sup> It was ascribed in *Le Prince d'Amour* (1660) to Sir Walter Raleigh.<sup>5</sup>

## THE ADVICE

Many desire, but few or none deserve  
 To win the Fort of thy most constant will:  
 Therefore take heed, let fancy never swerve  
 But unto him that will defend thee still.  
     For this be sure, the fort of fame once won,  
     Farewell the rest, thy happy dayes are done.

<sup>1</sup> Plate iii.

<sup>2</sup> J. Foster, *Visitation of Yorks*, 120; *Yorks County Families*, ii. A legal reference to her (p. 243) as a 'natural sister' has been taken, needlessly at its date, to imply bastardy, which would not be consistent with her position at court.

<sup>3</sup> *S.P.D. Warrant Book*, i. 86.

<sup>4</sup> *Bodl. Rawl. Poet. MS.* 85, f. 116; *Add. MS.* 22601, f. 71.

<sup>5</sup> Latham, *Raleigh*, 66, 168.



Many desire, but few or none deserve  
 To pluck the flowers and let the leaves to fall;  
 Therefore take heed, let fancy never swerve,  
 But unto him that will take leaves and all.  
 For this be sure, the flower once pluckt away,  
 Farewell the rest, thy happy days decay.

Many desire, but few or none deserve  
 To cut the corn, not subject to the sickle.  
 Therefore take heed, let fancy never swerve  
 But constant stand, for Mowers mindes are fickle.  
 For this be sure, the crop being once obtain'd  
 Farewell the rest, the soil will be disdain'd.

In another set we find Anne's name linked with Edward de Vere, Earl of Oxford. It seems to purport, in its title, to be their joint composition, but reads rather like that of an onlooker. Perhaps we should interpret 'by' in the obsolete sense of 'about'.<sup>1</sup>

*Verses made by the earle of Oxforde  
 and M<sup>rs</sup> Ann Vauesor.*

Sittinge alone vpon my thoughte in melancholy moode,  
 In syghte of sea and at my back an auncyente hoary woode,  
 I sawe a fayre younge ladye come, her secret feare to wayle,  
 Cladd all in colour of a Nuñ and couered w<sup>th</sup> a vaylle;  
 Yet (for the daye was callme and cleere) I myghte discerne hir  
 face,  
 As on myghte see a damaske rose hid vnder Christall glasse.  
 Three tymes withe her softe hande full harde one her left syde  
 she knocks,  
 And syghted so sore as myghte haue moude some pittye in the  
 rockes.  
 From syghes, and shedinge amber teares, into sweet songe she  
 brake,  
 When thus the Echo awnswered her to euerye word she  
 spake.

<sup>1</sup> *Bodl. Rawl. Poet. MS.* 85, f. 11. A text in *Folger MS.* 1. 112, f. 8, has some variant readings. This manuscript was once owned by Anne Cornwallis. In it the lines are subscribed 'vavaser'.





An Vavesors eccho.

O heauens, quoth she, who was y<sup>e</sup> fyrst that bredd in me this  
feauere? Vere.

Whoe was the first y<sup>t</sup> gaue y<sup>e</sup> wounde whose scarre I ware for  
cuere? Vere.

Whattyrant, Cupid! to mye harme vsurpes thy goulden quiuere?  
Vere.

What wighte first caughte this hart and can from bondage it  
deliue<sup>r</sup>? Vere.

Yet who doth most adore this wighte, oh hollow caues! tell  
trewe? You.

What nymph deservs his lykinge best, yet dothe in sorrowe  
rewe? You.

What makes him not rewarde good will w<sup>th</sup> some remorse or  
reuthe? Youth.

What makes him showe besydes his birrthe suche pryde and  
suche vntruth? Youth

May I his fauor matche w<sup>th</sup> loue; if he my loue will trye? I.

Maye I requite his birthe w<sup>th</sup> faythe? than faythfull will  
I dy? I.

And I that knew this ladye well  
Sayde, Lord howe great a mirakle,  
To her howe eccho toulde the truthe,  
As trewe as Pheobus' orakle.

I add a third piece, which is a woman's and may be  
Anne's own. It would fit her position in 1580 well enough.<sup>1</sup>

Thoughe I seeme straunge sweete freende, be thou not so  
Do not accoy thy selfe with sullen will  
Myne harte hathe voude althoughe my tongue saye noe  
To be thyne owne in freendly liking styll.

Thou seeste me liue amongst the Lynxes eyes  
That prydes into the priuy thoughte of mynde  
Thou knowest ryghte well what sorrowes maye aryse  
If once they chaunce my setled lookes to fynde

<sup>1</sup> *Bodl. Rawl. Poet MS.* 85, f. 17. It is without indication of authorship, but follows a group of poems ascribed to Lord Oxford. A variant text in *Folger MS.* 1. 112, f. 5<sup>v</sup>, is subscribed 'vavaser'.



Contente thy selfe that once I made an othe  
 To sheylde my selfe in shrowde of honest shame  
 And when thou lyste make tryall of my trouthe  
 So that thou save the honoure of my name

And let me seme althoughe I be not coye  
 To cloak my sadd conceyts w<sup>th</sup> smylinge cheere  
 Let not my iestures showe wherein I ioye  
 Nor by my lookes lett not my loue apeere.

We seely dames that falles suspecte, do feare  
 And liue within the moughte of enuyes lake  
 Muste in oure heartes a secrete meaning beare  
 Far from the reste whiche outwardlye we make

So were I lyke, I lyste not vaunte my loue  
 Where I desyre there moste I fayne debate  
 One hathe my hande an other hathe my gloue  
 But he my harte whome I seeme moste to hate

Thus farwell freende I will continewe straunge  
 Thou shalte not heere by worde or writing oughte  
 Let it suffice my vowe shall neuer chaunge  
 As for the rest I leaue yt to thy thoughte.

The Earl of Oxford, hereditary Great Chamberlain, was a forlorn representative at court of the older nobility of England. He was brought up in Lord Burghley's household and married his daughter Elizabeth. He was of insolent temper, a brawler, extravagant, Italianate in his morals. But he shone in the tilt and had some slight claims to be regarded as a poet. About 1573 he bid fair to become one of Elizabeth's chief favourites. Gilbert Talbot wrote to his father, on 11 May<sup>1</sup>—

My Lo. of Oxforth is lately growne into great credite; for the Q. Ma<sup>tie</sup> delitithe more in his parsonage, and his daunsinge, and valientnes, then any other: I thinke Sussex dothe back him all that he can; if it were not for his fyckle hed he would passe any of them shortly. My Lady Burghley unwisely hathe declared herself, as it were, gelious, w<sup>ch</sup> is come to the Quene's

<sup>1</sup> Lodge<sup>1</sup>, ii. 100.





care; whereat she hath bene not a litell offended w<sup>th</sup> hir, but now she is reconsiled agayne. At all theise love matters my Lo. Tresurer winketh, and will not meddle any way.

Lady Burghley had still more reason to be perturbed in 1576, when on his return from travel abroad, the Earl suddenly broke off relations with his wife, and accused her of infidelity. About the same time, according to his own account, he joined with Lord Henry Howard, Francis Southwell, and Charles Arundel, of Lutton in Devonshire, a brother of Sir Matthew Arundel of Wardour, in a secret profession of Catholicism. About Christmas 1580, for some reason which is not clear, he suddenly revealed this to the Queen, declaring his own repentance, and denouncing his associates. All were arrested, but Oxford was shortly released. The others, from prison, brought countercharges against him of 'notable dishonesty of life', plots to murder Leicester, Walsingham, Sidney, and Raleigh, and even of contemptuous language, which they said he had used to them about Elizabeth herself.<sup>1</sup> In one of these Arundel referred to a conference which he had with Oxford, after 'long speeches in secret between him and my cousin Vavisor who was the means of our meeting'.<sup>2</sup> This was probably Anne Vavasour, although I cannot trace the nature of the cousinship. An undated letter from Arundel to some unnamed lady may be addressed to her. It is mostly on his own affairs, but thanks her for delivering him from 'almost as great an agonie as your self endured'. He has heard a report of her disgrace and banishment.<sup>3</sup> And in fact, it had become apparent in 1581 that Raleigh's 'Advice' to Anne, if it was his, was not uncalled for. A letter of 23 March from Walsingham to the Earl of Huntingdon records a grave scandal at court:<sup>4</sup>

On Tuesday at night Anne Vavysor was brought to bed of

<sup>1</sup> A. Feuillerat, *Lyly*, 123; B. M. Ward, *Oxford*, 207.

<sup>2</sup> P. Allen, *Edward de Vere*, 176, from *S.P.D. Add.* xxvii. 46.

<sup>3</sup> *S.P.D.* cli. 51.

<sup>4</sup> *Hastings MSS.* (H.M.C.), ii. 29.



a son in the maidens' chamber. The E. of Oxeford is avowed to be the father, who hath withdrawn himself with intent, as it is thought, to pass the seas. The ports are laid for him and therefore if he have any such determination it is not likely that he will escape. The gentlewoman the selfsame night she was delivered was conveyed out of the house and the next day committed to the Tower. Others that have been found any ways party to the cause have also been committed. Her Majesty is greatly grieved with the accident, and therefore I hope there will be some such order taken as the like inconvenience will be avoided.

The event is noted also by a correspondent of the Fuggers at Augsburg, and recalled in the next century by Robert Johnston and from him by Edmund Bohun.<sup>1</sup> Johnston describes Anne as *magnitudine eximia mulier*, and Bohun makes her a Maid of Honour, which she was not. Oxford, whether he had meditated flight or not, now went to the Tower. He was released on 8 June, but was still confined to his house in the following July, and for two years was debarred from court.<sup>2</sup> And he had to face the anger of Anne Vavasour's relatives. With them he may already have been on bad terms. One of the charges brought against him by the Catholics, whom he had betrayed, was of a design to assassinate Thomas Knyvet at the privy chamber door for speaking ill of him to his men.<sup>3</sup> Now he had to meet him in a duel. Richard Madox records in his diary on 3 March 1582, 'My lord of Oxford fought with Master Knyvet about the quarrel of Bessie Bavisar'.<sup>4</sup> He has not, of course, got the name quite right. A few days later Nicholas Faunt writes to Anthony Bacon.<sup>5</sup>

In England of late there hath been a fray between my lord of Oxford and M<sup>r</sup> Thomas Knevet of the privy chamber, who were

<sup>1</sup> V. von Klarwill, 2 *Fugger News-Letters*, 55; Johnston, *Hist. Rerum Brit.* (655), 352; Bohun, *Character of Queen Elizabeth* (1693), 341.

<sup>2</sup> Dasent, xiii. 74; Nicolas, *Hatton*, 177; *Rutland MSS.* i. 150.

<sup>3</sup> Feuillerat, 126, from *S.P.D.* cli. 46.

<sup>4</sup> Ward, 227, from *Cotton MSS.* App. 47.

<sup>5</sup> Birch, *Eliz.* i. 22.







both hurt, but my lord of Oxford more dangerously. You know Mr Knevet is not meanly beloved in court; and therefore he is not like to speed ill, whatsoever the quarrel be.

Oxford recovered, and for a year London was disturbed by the attempts of ruffianly followers to secure his revenge. In June two of them, one Gastrell and another, were wounded at a fight with Knyvet's men in Lambeth Marsh.<sup>1</sup> Later in the month, they gathered at Lord Willoughby's and made an attack on Knyvet himself at Black Friars Stairs, as he came home from a dinner party. Probably Oxford himself was the instigator. Roger Townshend, who reports the affair, remonstrated with Willoughby, who said that Knyvet 'came braying hard by the door here' and annoyed Oxford and his men, but this Townshend, who was present at the dinner, could disprove.<sup>2</sup> In July there was another affray during which Knyvet killed one of his assailants. The coroner's jury gave a verdict of *se defendendo*, and Knyvet was entitled to his pardon. The Queen, who misunderstood the legal position, attempted in his interest to shorten the legal proceedings. It is to her credit and that of the Lord Chancellor, Sir Thomas Bromley, that he protested, and she, always fundamentally reasonable in constitutional matters, gave way. But the brawls continued, and in March 1583 Gastrell killed Knyvet's Long Tom. Burghley was much perturbed. The Queen, not unnaturally, laid the blame on Oxford, for whose restoration to favour his father-in-law was now working.<sup>3</sup> Stung by his ill success, Burghley wrote bitterly to Sir Christopher Hatton:

But I submit all these things to God's will, who knoweth best why it pleaseth Him to afflict my Lord of Oxford in this sort, who hath, I confess, forgotten his duty to God, and yet I hope he may be made a good servant to her Majesty, if it please her of her clemency to remit her displeasure for his fall in her Court,

<sup>1</sup> Feuillerat, 127, from *S.P.D.* cliv. 11, 12.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, from *S.P.D.* cliv. 13.

<sup>3</sup> Nicolas, *Hatton*, 256, 321.



which is now twice yeared, and he punished as far or farther than any like crime hath been, first by her Majesty, and then by the drab's friend in revenge to the peril of his life.

Shortly afterwards, a reconciliation between the Queen and Oxford did take place, not, however, to his further annoyance, through Burghley's own intercession, but through that of Raleigh. 'All sins ar forgiven', writes Roger Manners, 'and he may repayre to the court at his plesure. Mr. Ralley whas a great mean herin, wherat Pondus is angry for that he could not doe so moch.'<sup>1</sup> But Oxford had not yet heard the last of Anne Vavasour. Burghley preserved among his papers what he endorsed as 'a lewd letter' of 19 January 1585. It is a challenge to Oxford from Thomas Vavasour.<sup>2</sup>

If thy body had been as deformed as thy mind is dishonourable, my house had been yet unspotted and thyself remained with thy cowardice unknown. . . . Is not the revenge already taken of thy vildness sufficient, but wilt thou yet use unworthy instruments to provoke my unwilling mind? Or dost thou fear thyself, and therefore hast sent thy forlorn kindred, whom as thou hast left nothing to inherit, so dost thou thrust them violently into thy shameful quarrels? . . . Use not thy birth for an excuse, for I am a gentleman, but meet me thyself alone, and thy lackey to hold thy horse.

He proposes a meeting at Newington. The circumstances are rather obscure. Apparently Oxford had given some further offence. But I suspect that Thomas Vavasour was only a boy at the time of his sister's dishonour, and nursed the insult to his house, until he was of an age to bear arms. He made an appearance as a tilter on 6 December 1584, when he ran as a *coelebs* against Sir Henry Lee as a *nuptus*.<sup>3</sup> During 1585 he went to the Netherlands, and is often mentioned as a captain in the

<sup>1</sup> Rutland MSS. i. 150.

<sup>2</sup> Ward, 216, 229, from *Lansd. MS.* xcix. 93; cf. G. C. Moore Smith in *R.E.S.* v. 102.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. p. 135.





wars there up to June 1588. The Earl of Leicester favoured him and used him as an emissary to Elizabeth, when called upon to explain his action in accepting the Governorship of the Netherlands. Walsingham approved the choice. Vavasour was 'a person very agreeable to her Majesty'. He had performed his charge 'in good sort', and put her in better conceit with Leicester. In July 1587 he wrote to Burghley, asking for help in a suit, to prevent the ruin of his house.<sup>1</sup> He tilted in 1590, and fought well at sea, next the *Revenge*, in 1591.<sup>2</sup> On 24 October 1591 a follower of the Earl of Essex reports that 'Mr Vavisor is committed for Mrs. Southwell's lameness in her leg'. The Southwell women at court are difficult to disentangle, but Essex himself had a bastard son Walter by an Elizabeth Southwell, probably the Mrs. Southwell who was a Maid of Honour on 1 January 1589.<sup>3</sup> Vavasour's estate was in hazard through a law-suit, when he joined the Islands expedition in 1597. He must then have been a royal servant, perhaps as a Pensioner, since he had to obtain the Queen's consent to go. Essex made him a knight at the Azores.<sup>4</sup> On his return he seems again to have done military service in the Netherlands.<sup>5</sup> He married Mary, daughter of John Dodges of Cope in Suffolk, and widow of Peter Houghton, a London alderman, who died on 31 December 1596.<sup>6</sup>

In the meantime, what had become, since 1581, of the 'drab' herself? Obviously she had to leave the court. A 'libel' on the Earl of Leicester, which first appeared in 1584, and was later elaborated, is very outspoken as to this nobleman's amorous propensities. The authorship

<sup>1</sup> *S.P.F.* xix, 635, 691; xx. 25, 85, 120, 129; xxi (2), 109, 311, 394; xxi (3), 175, 290, 351; xxi (4), 3, 74, 219, 343, 440, 490; *Leicester Corr.* (C.S.), 183, 187, 191, 194, 197.

<sup>2</sup> Peele, *Polyhymnia*, 127; Hakluyt, vii. 38.

<sup>3</sup> H. iv. 153; Nichols, *Eliz.* iii. 19; Devereux, *Essex*, i. 475.

<sup>4</sup> H. vii. 279; Devereux, i. 427; S. Purchas, *Hakluytus Posthumus*, xx. 38.

<sup>5</sup> H. viii. 313; ix. 303; *Penshurst MSS.* (H.M.C.), ii. 316, 325, 378.

<sup>6</sup> *Harl. Soc.* xxxii. 107; lii. 1028; J. Foster, *Yorks. Pedigrees*, ii; Blomfield, *Norfolk*, vi. 464; A. B. Beaven, *Aldermen*, i. 92; H. iv. 81 (misdated).



has been variously ascribed to Robert Parsons, Thomas Morgan, and Anne Vavasour's 'cousin', Charles Arundel, himself. Leicester, says this writer, had corrupted most of the noble ladies at court.<sup>1</sup>

Neither contented with this place of honour, hee hath descended to seeke pasture among the waiting Gentlewomen of her Majesties great Chamber, offering more for their allurements, then I thinke *Lais* did commonly take in Corinth, if three hundreth pounds for a night will make up the summe: or if not, yet will hee make it up otherwise: having reported himselfe (so little shame hee hath) that hee offered to an other of higher place, an hundreth pound lands by the yeare with as many Jewels as most Women under her Majesty used in *England*: which was no meane bait to one that used traffique in such marchandize: shee being but the leavings of another man before him, whereof my Lord is nothing squemish, for satisfying of his lust, but can be content (as they say) to gather up crummes when hee is hungry, even in the very Landry it selfe or other place of baser quality.

And in the margin, against the reference to one 'of higher place' is printed 'Anne Vauiser'. It is fair to add that the writer's religious and political bias against Leicester is too strong to give his unsupported statements much credence; and also that he does not state in so many words that Anne Vavasour accepted the offer made to her.

We do not know when Sir Henry Lee's relations with Anne Vavasour began. She cannot have been the early flame, who lived in the Queen's eye, and is hinted at in the entertainment of 1575, since she is not in the list of ladies there given and in fact only joined the Royal Household five years later. The engraving of her initials on one of his suits of armour suggests that he may already have become her admirer during the time of her hey-day at court.<sup>2</sup> Lord Dillon says that payments to her first appear in his private accounts during 1590, and she is in

<sup>1</sup> *Copie of a Letter* (1584), 38; *Leicester's Commonwealth*, 49.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. pp. 86, 132.







any case not likely to have become a member of his household before his wife's death in that year.<sup>1</sup> Miss Strickland writes in romantic vein:<sup>2</sup>

Not long after old Sir Henry Lee had resigned his office of especial champion of the beauty of his sovereign, he fell in love with her new maid of honour, the fair M<sup>rs</sup> Anne Vavasour, who, though in the morning flower of her charms, and esteemed the loveliest girl in the whole court, drove a whole bevy of youthful lovers to despair, by accepting this ancient relic of the age of chivalry.

But Miss Strickland has been misled, as I must confess I was myself, until I learnt of the scandal of 1581, by a letter of Sir John Stanhope, who about 8 November 1590 told Lord Talbot that 'Our nue mayd, M<sup>rs</sup> Vavasor, flourisheth lyke the lylly & the rose'.<sup>3</sup> Obviously this cannot be Anne. It must have been her sister Frances Vavasour. She too was unfortunate in her affairs of the heart, although not so disastrously. In 1591 she was secretly contracted to Robert Dudley, the doubtfully legitimate son of the Earl of Leicester, but the Queen refused her consent, and was not unnaturally stirred to anger later in the year, when Frances, again in secrecy, married Sir Thomas Shirley. 'Graciouslye', she said, 'she hath always furthered (in good sorte) any honest and honorable purposes of mariage or preferment to any of hers, when without scandall and infamy they have bene orderly broken unto her.' Sir Thomas was committed to the Marshalsea, but the marriage held, and the result was Henry Shirley, the dramatist.<sup>4</sup> Nor must we confuse Sir Henry Lee's Anne with another Anne Vavasour, formerly the woman of Lucy Countess of Bedford, who was appointed to the Bedchamber about July 1601, was with Elizabeth at Harefield in 1602, gave her

<sup>1</sup> *Dillon Notes*, W. 88, from Ditchley Steward's Book.

<sup>2</sup> *Elizabeth* (ed. 1906), 560.

<sup>3</sup> Lodge<sup>1</sup>, iii. 16; cf. *Eliz. Stage*, iii. 399.

<sup>4</sup> Temple Leader, *Robert Dudley*, 31, 166; E. P. Shirley, *The Shirley Brothers*, 5; H. iv. 137; v. 361; *S.P.D.* ccxl. 17.



a night-veil of cambric wrought with black silk drawn work at the New Year of 1603, attended her funeral, and was granted a life pension of £66 13s. 4d. early in the reign of James. She was in some way a cousin of Anne Clifford, daughter of George Earl of Cumberland, and married Sir Richard Warburton, of a Cheshire family, about July 1603. I do not find a likely Anne in the pedigree of the Vavasours of Copmanthorpe, or in that of the parent house of Haslewood in Yorkshire. She may have belonged to a more obscure offshoot in Northamptonshire, where Anne Clifford had relations on the mother's side.<sup>1</sup>

Sir Henry Lee's Anne was married by 1590 to one John Finch.<sup>2</sup> He had, I regret to say, in 1605 an annuity of £20 from Sir Henry Lee, which he then sold. In the deed of sale he is described as 'alias Freeman of the City of London gent'. He was still alive in 1621.<sup>3</sup> And he, too, eludes me. I cannot connect him with the well-known Finch family of Eastwell in Kent. A John Finch of Watford in Herts left a son John in 1573, and a John Finch of Dunstable was alive in 1603.<sup>4</sup> And in 1594 Richard Kitchen, a lawyer of Clifford's Inn and an acquaintance of the poet Marlowe, was indicted for assaulting John Finch of London gentleman, as he walked in the parish of St. Bartholomew the Great, and wounding him with a dagger. I rather suspect that this may be the man.<sup>5</sup> He was the son of Henry Finch, citizen and

<sup>1</sup> *Philip Gawdy's Letters*, 112; *Eliz. Stage*, iv. 67; *Add. MS.* 22601, f. 49; *Chancery Misc.* iii. 41; *Lord Chamberlain's Records*, ii. 4 (4); *S.P.D.* (Jac. I), vii, p. 95; Wiffen, *Russells*, i. 507; ii. 69, 70, 72; V. Sackville-West, *Anne Clifford*, 7, 9, 13; Ormerod, *Cheshire*, ii. 175; Bridges, *Northants.* i. 460; ii. 43, 345; *Clarke-Thornhill MSS.* (H.M.C. *Var. Coll.* iii), *passim*; *Harl. Soc.* xix. 53.

<sup>2</sup> *Dillon Notes*, W. 88; 2 *Gen.* ix. 21.

<sup>3</sup> *Bucks. Records*, iv. 91.

<sup>4</sup> B. l'Anson, *Finch Family*, 93, 123.

<sup>5</sup> J. L. Hotson in *Atlantic Monthly* (July 1926), 37; M. Eccles, *Marlowe in London*, 85; E. A. Bond, *Russia at the Close of the Sixteenth Century*, 215, 330. I owe to Dr. Eccles much further information of interest about this John Finch's history, but it does not give a definite link with Anne Vavasour's husband.







fishmonger of London, and born about 1561. In 1584 and 1585 he was trading in Russia, and suffered imprisonment, which he attributed to the malice of Jerome Horsey, for libelling whom, at the instigation of Sir Jerome Bowes, he got into trouble on his return to England. In 1597 and 1598 he was living in St. Bartholomew's.

Lee had perhaps some right to call himself a hermit in his later years. Most of his time seems to have been spent at Ditchley or at the High Lodge in Woodstock Park, with occasional visits to Quarrendon, where lay the ancestral sheep-farm, from which most of his income was derived. With this failing health may have had something to do. Elizabethans aged early, and though Lee lived to be an old man, more than one illness has already been recorded.<sup>1</sup> In 1591 he wrote to Sir Thomas Heneage, the Vice-Chamberlain, excusing himself for leaving the progress. He was old and had a pain and flux in his eye, could get no fit lodgings, and was more fit to pray for Her Majesty, than to wrestle with the humours of court, which he found to be cross, or the fortunes of the world, which were most uncertain.<sup>2</sup> Probably, too, he was very much a country gentleman at heart. He had the characteristic sixteenth-century love of house-building. There was horse-breeding to be done, and hunting and hawking. His brother Richard sent him pheasants and a cock and hen of the great kind, from which he had high hopes.<sup>3</sup> He could not entirely desert the court, to which his functions in the Armoury and the Tiltyard still bound him, and in 1593 he took a new lease of his chambers in the Savoy.<sup>4</sup> But in the main he kept touch with the great through letters. Most of those preserved are to Sir Robert Cecil, now becoming a man of importance in the State, as successor to the sinking energies of his father, Lord Burghley. Sometimes they deal with official business, or

<sup>1</sup> Cf. pp. 43, 62.

<sup>2</sup> H. iv. 136.

<sup>3</sup> H. iv. 206.

<sup>4</sup> *Walford's Antiquarian*, viii. 119.



touch upon politics. Often they are merely complimentary. Lee congratulates Cecil in 1598 on his safe return from the 'inconstant and scrambling nation of France'.<sup>1</sup> Or he sends him the countryman's present of a haggard or a doe. Like other country gentlemen he has his grumbles. He writes from a 'poor' or 'lonely' cottage. Ditchley in 'hard Cotswold', is 'a barren place, where seldom is anything good'. He is growing old and lame. He has 'many and mighty wrongs'.<sup>2</sup> And of course there are suits to be urged, for his family and friends. The wardenship of Winchester may become vacant, and Lee wants it for William Swaddon of New College, to which house, as we have seen, Lee claims to have belonged. Swaddon did not get it, but was consoled, perhaps through Lee's influence, with the prebend of Aylesbury.<sup>3</sup> The Queen has sent out privy seals for a forced loan. One has gone to Topping of Aylesbury, who has no land and but a small stock. Can he be let off? Though he was bred on Lee's land, his deserts to him have been bad, and truly 'tis but for conscience sake that he recommends the cause. A Thomas Topping was a servant of Roger Lee of Pitstone in 1552.<sup>4</sup> Lee himself was still in debt. Sir Thomas Tresham complained on 1 November 1594 that he could not pay a sum due to his niece Anne Vaux, because divers, of whom Lee was one, had broken with him.<sup>5</sup>

The manifold duties of a justice of the peace continued to fall to the hermit's lot. In the autumn of 1592 there was fear of a renewed Spanish invasion and of sympathetic action by papists in England. It was decided to call upon all justices to renew their oaths of supremacy, and Lee was one of those directed to take the oaths in Oxfordshire.<sup>6</sup> In 1595 reinforcements were required for the

<sup>1</sup> H. viii. 158.

<sup>2</sup> H. vii. 517; viii. 320, 425; ix. 196, 303; *S.P.D.* cclxviii. 96.

<sup>3</sup> H. iv. 529; *Browne Willis MS.* xcvi. 78; cf. p. 28.

<sup>4</sup> H. vii. 501; 2 *Gen.* viii. 230.

<sup>5</sup> *Various Colls.* (H.M.C.), iii. 82.

<sup>6</sup> *Dasent*, xxiii. 259.







troops in Ireland during the rebellion of Tyrone. Lee was placed on a commission, in Bucks this time, to assist the High Sheriff in taking musters, and the work continued through 1596.<sup>1</sup> In the autumn of the same year there was trouble in the neighbourhood of Woodstock itself. Three summers of bad weather had brought about a dearth, and corn rose to the alarming price of 7s. a bushel.<sup>2</sup> The country folk blamed the practice of enclosures. There had been many of these in middle Oxfordshire, notably about the little places, Water Eaton, Bletchingdon, Shipton, Hampton Poyle, and Hampton Gay, which lie along the course of the Cherwell. Edward Frere was said to have destroyed the whole town of Water Eaton. Francis Power at Bletchingdon and Sir William Spencer at Yarnton, a little farther away, had similarly become unpopular. There had been enclosures also near Banbury and, as we know, at Woodstock itself. About Michaelmas 1596 a number of men went to one of the joint Lieutenants for Oxfordshire, Lord Norris, at Rycote, and threatened to pull down hedges. News of this came to Hampton Poyle, and here a rising was more definitely planned between Bartholomew Steere of that place, who was a carpenter in the service of Norris, and James and Richard Bradshaw, whose father dwelt at Hampton Gay, although James himself was a miller trading from Chetwood in Bucks. They approached many others, some of whom joined willingly enough, and others, including Bartholomew's brother John Steere, with reluctance, while one, Roger Symonds, also a carpenter, in the service of Vincent Barry of Hampton Gay, refused. He had seven sons and, although he worked hard, could barely find them in bread and water, but he suspected that the talk of want of food only covered the instigation of papists and enemies of the State. The effective leader of the movement was clearly Bartholomew Steere. He

<sup>1</sup> H. v. 523; Dasent, xxv. 48, 157, 388.

<sup>2</sup> Stowe, *Annals* (1605), 1279.



talked largely and put forward far-reaching plans. He was himself a single man and not needy, but wanted to help others. They would knock down all the gentlemen and 'there would be a merry world shortly'. Many gentlemen's servants, who were kept like dogs, would join them. They would spoil the houses of Frere and Power and Barry and Spencer, of John Rathbone of Shipton, of Sir Henry Lee and George Whitton, and take the corn they found there. Then they would go to Rycote and spoil that. Here they could get two brass cannon and plenty of arms and armour. And so they would march to London, where the prentices, some of whom had recently been hanged for a riot about the butter prices in Southwark market, would join them. He knew an armourer in Thame who would supply them further, and a mason who could make fireballs for sling-ing. It would be but a month's work to overrun England. One recognizes the type of demagogue across the centuries; a heart of gold and a head of feathers. A meeting was planned for St. Hugh's Day, 22 November, when it was known that most of the gentry would be in London for a lawsuit. The place originally named was Campsfield Green, but this was altered to Enslow Bridge on the Cherwell, where there had been a similar rising in old times. Those who took part in it had been persuaded to lay down their arms, but they would not be such fools now. The reference is no doubt to an Oxfordshire disturbance of 1549, which also arose out of enclosures, but was diverted into papist channels, and suppressed with much severity. At Enslow Bridge, Steere promised, the local men would be reinforced by hundreds of others, from Woodstock and Bladon, and even from distant Witney. St. Hugh's Day came, and Steere, with a pike on his shoulders, made his way to the bridge. Here he was joined by precisely three others. They waited from 9 to 11 at night, and then went home. And by the next day the efficient net of Elizabethan administration had







closed upon them. Roger Symonds had revealed the plot to Vincent Barry and he in turn had warned Power, and through him Sir William Spencer, who was a Deputy Lieutenant. On 23 November Spencer and Sir Anthony Cope of Hanwell, also a Deputy Lieutenant, began their examinations of those arrested. They sent a first batch of these to Norris on 6 December, and he sent them on to his fellow Lieutenant, Sir William Knollys, in London.<sup>1</sup> Meanwhile the Privy Council had already heard of the affair and wrote to Norris and Sir Henry Lee to take action.<sup>2</sup> Lee went over to Rycote and learnt that the arrests had already been made.<sup>3</sup> On 14 December came an order from the Council to have Steere and the Bradshaws and one Roger Ibell, who was supposed to be also a ringleader, sent up by the High Sheriff, under guard with 'their hands pynnioned and their leges bound under the horse bellys and so looked to as they may not have conference one with the other on the way hether'. The Council had been particularly perturbed by statements that two gentlemen, John Harcourt of Coggs, and Richard Pudsey of Elsfeld, had offered to lead the rioters, and these also they wanted sent up, although probably in less ignominious fashion. On arrival the ringleaders were committed to different prisons, and on 19 December the law officers, with the Recorder of London and Francis Bacon, were instructed to examine them further under manacles and torture in Bridewell. Meanwhile the local examinations continued, with special reference to the allegations against the gentlemen and as to the part played by Roger Symonds.<sup>4</sup> By January Sir Edward Coke, the Attorney-General, was able to report. Bartholomew Steere, who would say little to Spencer and Cope, had now made a full confession. Coke found him to be 'the first deviser', and of the rest the two Bradshaws,

<sup>1</sup> *S.P.D.* cclxi. 10-13, 15, 27, 28, 32; cclxii. 4; cf. Cheyney, ii. 32; E. F. Gay in *2 R. Hist. Soc. Trans.* xviii. 212, 238.

<sup>2</sup> Dasent, xxvi. 364.

<sup>3</sup> *S.P.D.* cclxi. 12.

<sup>4</sup> Dasent, xxvi. 365, 373, 383, 398, 412, 455.



with Edward Bompas, fuller, and Robert Burton, mason, who had come to Enslow Bridge, 'principal offenders'. Six others, including John Steere and his father, had also offended. The case against seven others, including Roger Ibell, was doubtful. Roger Symonds he exonerated. He suggested that the first five should be attainted under the Treasons Act of 1571. This required prosecution within six months of the offence, within which period the Oxfordshire assizes would fall.<sup>1</sup> But by 4 June nothing had been done, and he then contemplated either a postponement to the following term or a trial under a special commission at Westminster itself, with an Oxfordshire jury.<sup>2</sup> Apparently legal ingenuity had got round the six months requirement. And so Bartholomew Steere and his fellows pass into oblivion. Of John Harcourt and Richard Pudsey Coke says nothing. They may have succeeded in clearing themselves. Harcourt had claimed that he was in London from 8 October to 1 December, and Steere had denied any expectation of help from Pudsey, although he knew him to be 'a tall and lusty man'.

John Harcourt was a younger brother of Sir Walter Harcourt of Stanton Harcourt, and had married the widow of one Bryan of Coggs near Witney. Later in 1597 Lee was concerned in the affairs of another member of the same family.<sup>3</sup> This was Edward Harcourt, an uncle of Sir Walter. He held the manor of Shalstone, Bucks, in the right of his wife Joyce, as widow of Edward Purefoy. On 27 September Lee wrote to Cecil, begging that the Queen would assure to Harcourt an annuity of £100 which he would otherwise lose on his wife's death.<sup>4</sup> This was unfortunate, for on 29 September Lee received a letter from the Privy Council, bidding him join with Sir Robert Dormer and George Throckmorton in

<sup>1</sup> H. vii. 49; *S.P.D.* (Jac. I), xxviii. 64 (misdated); cf. 13 *Eliz.* c. 1, §§ 1, 8.

<sup>2</sup> H. vii. 236.

<sup>3</sup> E. W. Harcourt, *Harcourt Papers*, i. 246; *W. Salt Soc.* iii (2), 91; Lipscomb, iv. 591; *V.H. Bucks.* iv. 224.

<sup>4</sup> H. vii. 402.







examining the felonious acts and traitorous words attributed to Harcourt by one Nicholas Smith, a prisoner in Aylesbury jail. Harcourt himself was to be sent up under guard. On inquiry, it did not come to much. Harcourt admitted the possession of a pamphlet which might be regarded as treasonable. It had been written to Sir Christopher Hatton at Spa, and was no doubt the dedicatory epistle to Hatton by one G.T. which is found bound up with a copy at Lambeth of *A Treatise of Treasons* (1573). This contains a charge against Burghley and Sir Nicholas Bacon, of plotting the death of Elizabeth and Mary of Scots in order to secure the succession for the house of Suffolk, represented both in 1573 and in 1597 by the doubtfully legitimate Edward Seymour, Lord Beauchamp. Nicholas Smith may have alleged speech by Harcourt in favour of Beauchamp's claim, but Coke reported that he could not be touched on the uncorroborated testimony, not in all points true, of a servant charged with felony and not helped by his master.<sup>1</sup> The question of the succession was looming in the distance as Elizabeth advanced in years, and the government was alert to prevent any public discussion of it. In 1595 a servant of Lee's own, with a vicar in Oxfordshire, had been arrested by Sir William Spencer from publishing the claims, much favoured by the Puritans, of the Earl of Huntingdon.<sup>2</sup> Any such publication had been made an offence by the statute of 1571.<sup>3</sup> George Throckmorton of Fulbrook, Bucks, appears to have been a close friend of Lee. In January 1599 Lee was interested in an arbitration by the Earl of Essex between him and one of Lee's Cheyne kinsmen.<sup>4</sup>

It is possible that the hermit of Ditchley would, after all, have been willing to quit his hermitage if certain

<sup>1</sup> Dasent, xxviii. 28, 35; H. vii. 420, 432; B. M. Ward in *R.E.S.* iv. 42.

<sup>2</sup> H. v. 80.

<sup>3</sup> 13 *Eliz.* c. 1, § 5.

<sup>4</sup> Lipscomb, i. 271; *Harl. Soc.* v. 120; H. ix. 8, 50; xiv. 104; cf. pp. 69, 227, 228, 299.



other ambitions had been gratified. In January 1594 it was rumoured at court that Sir Thomas Heneage would be given the Controllershship of the Household, which had long been vacant, and that Lee would succeed him as Vice-Chamberlain.<sup>1</sup> No appointments were, however, made, and Heneage was still both Vice-Chamberlain and Treasurer of the Chamber at his death on 17 October 1595. Hopes were now again fluttered, and Lee's name canvassed, with those of Raleigh, John Stanhope, and Sir Robert Sidney. But Raleigh said he was a banished man, and was going on a voyage at Christmas. Rowland Whyte wrote to Sidney that he expected nothing would come of it but an increase in the New Year gifts to the Queen.<sup>2</sup>

I was at Court this Morning, where nothing is so much thought upon as Dauncing and Playing. Some were there, hoping for preferment, as my Lord North, and Sir Henry Leigh. They play at Cards with the Queen, and yt is like to be all the Honor that will fall unto them this yeare.

Nothing, in fact, did come of it. The Vice-Chamberlainship remained unfilled. But in July 1596 the Treasurership of the Household also became vacant on the death of Sir Francis Knollys, and something had to be done. Sir William Knollys told Cecil that he should have liked to succeed his father, but expected that Lord North would get the post, and that he would be either Vice-Chamberlain or Controller, which he should prefer, in spite of his dislike to serving under North. But if he was Vice-Chamberlain, either Lee or Sir Richard Berkeley might get the Controllershship.<sup>3</sup> In the event North became Treasurer and Knollys Controller, and Lee was again left in the cold. The Vice-Chamberlainship was still dangled. In October the Lord Chamberlain, William Lord Cobham, who was also Warden of the Cinque Ports, was press-

<sup>1</sup> Birch, *Eliz.* i. 151.

<sup>2</sup> *Penshurst MSS.* ii. 175, 200, 203, 205; Collins, *Sydney Papers*, i. 382.

<sup>3</sup> H. vi. 287.







ing for assistance at court, and it was believed that he would favour either Raleigh or Stanhope.<sup>1</sup> But Cobham himself died in March 1597, and was succeeded as Chamberlain by Lord Hunsdon. A Vice-Chamberlainship was still in prospect. Raleigh, Stanhope, and Sir Edward Wotton were to the fore, and the Queen had made some sort of promise, an Elizabethan one, to Stanhope.<sup>2</sup> Meanwhile Sidney, weary of his long service at Flushing, had turned his thoughts to the Wardenship of the Cinque Ports, which also Cobham had held. He had the support of Essex, but in September the Wardenship was given to Cobham's son.<sup>3</sup> The Vice-Chamberlainship now became the nodal point of a bitter contention between Essex and the Cecils for a dominating influence over the Queen. Raleigh, who for the time was on good terms with both parties, was prepared to stand aside, but claimed some recompense. Essex declared that he would be an enemy to any man but Sidney who sought the office, although Sidney himself would have waived his claim for a barony.<sup>4</sup> The struggle raged during the winter of 1597. In February 1598 Robert Cecil was sent on a mission to France, and Essex promised not to do anything contrary to his interests during his absence.<sup>5</sup> A compromise was mooted, which brought Sir Henry Lee once more upon the scene. Faithful to the policy of a lifetime, he had made himself a *persona grata* to both sides. On 12 February Rowland Whyte wrote to Sidney.<sup>6</sup>

Here is one Thing happened worthy the Noting; Sir Henry Leigh came to Court some 7 Dayes agon out of the Countrey, and was priuat with Burghley and Sir Robert Cecil a long Tyme. I was carefull to learn the Cause, and I heare that he is encouraged to stand to be Vicechamberlen, and that they will not be against yt. Yf this be true, now that they see that they cannot preuaile for their own Friends, they fynd out this

<sup>1</sup> Birch, *Eliz.* ii. 176.

<sup>2</sup> *Penshurst MSS.* ii. 248, 263, 286.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 234-76 *passim*; H. vii. 108, 115, 132, 156, 225, 403.

<sup>4</sup> *Penshurst MSS.* ii. 297, 309, 311, 313, 316, 317; H. viii. 29.

<sup>5</sup> *Penshurst MSS.* ii. 320.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* 321; Collins, *Sydney Papers*, ii. 89.



meane, to keape the Queene from her Promes to you. And though I assure my self My Lord of Essex is firme and vnremovable towards you, he may not be against Sir Hen. Leigh, though he will not further yt.

This scheme, however, came to nothing. Later in February Sidney's hopes were high again. Whyte, however, warned him that he was thought too young and too amorous to be conversant among the ladies.<sup>1</sup> And suddenly the Vice-Chamberlainship passed into oblivion. It remained vacant until February 1601, when Essex was in disgrace, and Sir John Stanhope was appointed during an illness of the Lord Chamberlain.<sup>2</sup>

But if Lee was disappointed in his hopes of a place in the Household, he had none the less enjoyed his hour of glory. At a Chapter of the Garter on St. George's Day (23 April) 1597, Essex moved the companions to elect him as a Knight of the Garter. It was an unusual honour for one who was not a peer, and Essex had much ado to persuade the Queen to consent to it. Lee's fellows in the election were George Lord Hunsdon, the new Lord Chamberlain, Thomas Lord Howard of Walden, Charles Lord Mountjoy, and Frederick Count of Mömpelgart, whose difficulties in obtaining his insignia are part of another story. The English knights had to limit their trains to fifty men each, but Hunsdon's was later increased to three hundred, and Lee's to two hundred; and at the head of these 'well mounted & in blew Coates & Badges', Lee rode in his pride from Staines-ward to Windsor Castle for his installation on 23 May. The Royal Wardrobe furnished him with his robes, kirtle, hood, and tippet, which required eighteen yards of crimson velvet and ten ells of white taffeta for the lining.<sup>3</sup> Lord Burghley honoured him by sending a George from

<sup>1</sup> *Penshurst MSS.* ii. 327, 329.

<sup>2</sup> Chamberlain, 100; *Eliz. Stage*, i. 42.

<sup>3</sup> *Penshurst MSS.* ii. 271; Collins, ii. 45, 47, 51; *Bodl. Ashm. MS.* 1112, f. 16<sup>v</sup>; *Stowe MS.* 595, f. 45<sup>v</sup>; *Addl. MS.* 5756, f. 231.





his own neck, for which he returned his thanks through Elizabeth Lady Russell, with regrets that illness had obliged him to leave Windsor after the ceremony without seeing Burghley or Robert Cecil.<sup>1</sup> It was probably at the time of this advancement that Lee exchanged the arms born by his grandfather and father for a more elaborate coat, and procured a pedigree which traced the Lees of Quarrendon to a parent house in Cheshire.<sup>2</sup>

It was perhaps in compliment to his dignity as a Knight of the Garter that on 4 August 1599, during a scare of Spanish invasion, Lee was directed, in common with a number of others, nearly all of whom were noblemen, to provide a troop of lancers and light horsemen armed with petronels, for the protection of the Queen's person. They were to be at court by 20 August, but before that date the scare had passed, and the order was rescinded.<sup>3</sup> Lee, however, went himself to court, by way of Quarrendon, and from here on 19 August he sent up to Cecil one Bennet Wilson, who had heard bad and untrue reports of the Queen and others from Thomas Allyne at Winslow. He was ready to examine the parties if needed. By 23 August he had got to court.<sup>4</sup> The reports, no doubt, were of the death or dangerous illness of the Queen. They were widespread at the time abroad.<sup>5</sup> In Spain and Portugal they were believed to have hastened the preparation of a Spanish fleet, which, however, did not attack England at all, but went off to meet the Dutch at the Azores, and largely foundered on the way. The reports came also to places so far apart as St. Omer and Venice. In August, during the alarm caused by the mustering of troops, they were disseminated in England itself. John Chamberlain and Rowland Whyte wrote of them from London and Sir Nicholas Parker

<sup>1</sup> H. vii. 536.

<sup>2</sup> App. A.

<sup>3</sup> *Savile Foljambe MSS.* (H.M.C.), 84, 97; *Penshurst MSS.* ii. 380-5.

<sup>4</sup> H. xiv. 78 (misdated); Chamberlain, 64.

<sup>5</sup> *V.P.* ix. 355; Von Klarwill, 2 *Fugger Letters*, 313; H. ix. 277; *S.P.D.* cclxxi. 113, 114; cclxxii. 18, 47.



from Cornwall.<sup>1</sup> They may have been particularly prevalent in Bucks. Jasper Oseley heard of them from Humphrey Stafford of Westbury in the house of Mr. Cotes at Hanslope. And it was from Bucks that they came to Northants, and alarmed Sir Arthur Throgmorton and Henry Wake, the Commissioners of Musters for that county. Wake also wrote to Cecil about them, and received a reproof from the Queen for not apprehending the reporter. No less a person than Sir John Fortescue of Salden, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, had to repudiate a charge that this was his son or a member of his household.<sup>2</sup> The Queen was a good deal perturbed. She 'was never quiet since', wrote Sir John Stanhope to Cecil. But she put a bold face on it in public, and said, *Mortua sed non sepulta*.<sup>3</sup> I think Bennet Wilson must have been a godson of Benedict Lee of Hulcott, who gave one Henry Wilson the living of Hulcott in 1540. A John Wilson had a lease of Hardwick from Sir Robert Lee in 1534. A Francis Wilson had been a servant at Burston in 1562. Lee calls Bennet 'a man well known to me and well able to live'. He was in fact in the service of Lee, who acquired from him the advowson of Aylesbury.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Savile Foljambe MSS.* 88, 94; *Collins*, ii. 114, 115; *Penshurst MSS.* ii. 386; *Chamberlain*, 62; *S.P.D.* cclxxii. 49.

<sup>2</sup> *H.* ix. 302, 306, 314, 428.

<sup>3</sup> *H.* ix. 306; *Penshurst MSS.* ii. 386; *Collins*, ii. 114.

<sup>4</sup> *Browne Willis MS.* i, f. 411; *Ditchley MSS.*; *Dillon Notes*, W. 166; cf. pp. 218, 219, 227, 240, 241.





## VII

### THE KNIGHT OF THE GARTER

IN 1600 Sir Henry Lee had reached the ripe age, for an Elizabethan, of 67. He was still troubled with the gout. Writing to Cecil on his Armoury grievances in January, he describes himself as old, lame, and not able to perform his accustomed service about the Queen.<sup>1</sup> During the earlier part of the year he was concerned with the affairs of his illegitimate brother Richard. Richard had started upon life with a small legacy from his father of £100 in money or £5 a year in land, and two hundred ewes.<sup>2</sup> Like other younger sons of the day, he sought fortune by the roads of trade and wedlock. His first wife was Mary, daughter of John Blundell of Finmere and Steeple Barton in Oxfordshire, and widow of Sir Gerald Croker of Hook Norton in the same county, through whose hands Sir Henry's patent for Woodstock had passed on its way from Edward Dyer. By her Richard had a son John, who died in 1586. Sir Gerald had died in 1577.<sup>3</sup> His family had long held leases of two manors in Hook Norton, one of which, with the rectory, had come from the abbey of Oseney to the Bishop of Oxford, and the other from John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, to the crown. The leases came to Richard Lee, presumably in his wife's right, and involved him in much litigation, both in the Court of Chancery and in the Court of Wards, with Sir Gerald's son John, who claimed them. In 1582 Lee went over seas, leaving authority for the proceedings to continue during his absence. But they lasted for several years in spite of the death of Lee's wife and of attempts of the

<sup>1</sup> H. x. 18.

<sup>2</sup> 2 Gen. viii. 231.

<sup>3</sup> C. J. Robinson in 2 Gen. ii. 105; *Dillon Notes*, W. 48 from *Addl. MS.* 9459; *Harl. Soc.* v. 35; cf. p. 82.



Queen and the Privy Council to bring about an arbitration. Pleadings of 1587 show that Richard sub-let part of the property to Sir Henry, and the whole of it later to his other brother Cromwell, who lived on it with his wife and family. They claim also that Richard had secured £7,000 in goods and profits, and had destroyed two manor houses and wasted woodlands, while John Croker was saddled with £10,000 to pay in debts and legacies. There was another suit of 1597 between John Croker and the vicar of Hook Norton about tithes, in the course of which it was alleged that Sir Henry's servant Duffield had removed a stone which bore evidence as to the existence of a vicar at an earlier date.<sup>1</sup> Possibly the Earl of Leicester, before whom the main dispute was heard at one stage, took the opportunity to play a hand of his own. The anonymous libeller of 1584 includes among his acts of oppression, 'his dealing with M. Richard Lee, for his Manor of Hooknorton (if I faile not in the name)', which suggests that the lordship of John Dudley had been regranted to his son, and that he may have wished to secure a surrender of the lease through Lee.<sup>2</sup> Ultimately some settlement was probably arrived at by which the estate went to John Croker, with whom Richard seems to have been on good terms at the end of his life.<sup>3</sup> In 1588 Richard served as a volunteer against the Armada, under Lord Henry Seymour in the *Rainbow*.<sup>4</sup> And in 1589 he found another widow richly left in Alice, daughter of Sir Thomas Kempe of Olantigh in Kent, whose first husband, Sir James Hales, had died in the same year. Sir Henry charged his manor of Burston with an annuity of £100 to his brother's new bride. In her right Richard also acquired the manor of

<sup>1</sup> *Chancery Proc. Eliz.* (R.O.), i. 159; ii. 148; *S.P.D.* cxlvi. 30; cxcix. 80-3; Add. xxvii. 92; *Dillon Notes*, W. 49; Nicolas, *Hatton*, 335; M. Dickins, *Hook Norton*, 20, 58 sqq., 70, 162 sqq.; Strype, *Annals*, iv. 172.

<sup>2</sup> *Copie of a Letter*, 89; *Leicester's Commonwealth*, 110.

<sup>3</sup> Dasent, xxii. 154; cf. p. 224.

<sup>4</sup> *S.P.D.* ccxiii. 30.





Dungeon or Dane John on the outskirts of Canterbury, and this he retained upon her death in 1592, as guardian of her son Cheney Hales, from whom he later secured a part interest in it.<sup>1</sup> From the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury Richard obtained a lease of the manor of Great Chart in Kent.<sup>2</sup> He sent good wishes to the Earl of Essex on his expedition to France in 1591, and himself went to Spa for the benefit of his health in 1592.<sup>3</sup> A litigious fellow, no doubt, but at this time of his life a cheerful one, if it is he whom a Kentish letter of 1596 records as 'Mr Lee no changeling, always laughing'.<sup>4</sup> Richard sat as member for Woodstock in the Parliaments of 1589-97.<sup>5</sup>

In 1600 Richard Lee was chosen to go as ambassador to Boris Godounof, who had recently become Emperor of Muscovy, and from the correspondence about his appointment it can be inferred that his early travel overseas was to Muscovy, and probably that his main occupation was in the profitable trade in cordage and other wares carried on with that country. This was in the hands of the Muscovy Company, a joint-stock organization which received its charter in 1555. Unfortunately the early records of the company are lost, and the part taken in it by Richard Lee must remain obscure. But in March 1599 Francis Cherry, a leading member of the company, returned to England with letters from the Emperor to the Queen, which made a formal embassy desirable, in view of political complications alarming to the interests of trade.<sup>6</sup> He was ruffled by suspicions that she was in league with enemies on either side of him. His ally, Charles Duke of Sweden, was at war with the King of Poland, who had recently impressed certain English

<sup>1</sup> *Harl. Soc.* xlii. 58; Hasted, *Kent*, iv. 430, 439; *Dillon Notes*, W. 45, from *P. Roll*, 38 Eliz., p. 5, *Close Rolls*, 32 Eliz., p. 32, 38 Eliz., p. 3; *Cal. Chancery Proc. Eliz.* ii. 31.

<sup>2</sup> *H.M.C.* ix (1), 122; *H.* x. 164.

<sup>3</sup> *H.* iv. 169; *Dillon Notes*, W. 48, from Signet Bill.

<sup>4</sup> *S.P.D.* cclx. 33.

<sup>5</sup> *Official Return.*

<sup>6</sup> *H.* ix. 112.



ships in the Baltic for his naval service. And in the south he believed that the establishment of commercial relations at Constantinople had led to the English support of the Turk in an expedition against the Austrian Emperor in Hungary. Elizabeth, on the other hand, was perturbed by the rumour of a marriage between the Emperor's daughter and an Austrian Archduke, and desired to probe its truth. Sir Henry Lee heard of what was in the wind, and wrote to Cecil, urging his brother's qualifications for the expected post. He had experience of Muscovy, having been there, 'not the meanest of the company'. Sir Edward Wotton also supported his claims. Cecil seems to have been favourable, and some sort of promise was given.<sup>1</sup> Then the Queen, as usual, hesitated. Cecil was bombarded with letters. 'It would much disgrace him and grieve me, if any other should put him by', wrote Sir Henry; and again, 'I would rather wish his end than that this disgrace should come upon him, especially upon so vain a toy as hath without ground been given out, and no truth in it'.<sup>2</sup> Richard himself protested vigorously. His 'poor reputation and state' are engaged in going, to the world's knowledge. The merchants have resolved upon him with general consent. Cherry has told them that the Queen likes their choice. Some of them are sending their servants with him. His friends have made preparations at great charge. Sir Henry Lee is providing him with a present worth more than two hundred marks. He hopes the Queen will not allow him to be disgraced after thirty years' service. But he has a letter from Lord Cobham, from which he perceives her princely regard of him, 'with too much fear I should take harm by the witches of Muscovy xxx <years> since, wherein I shall so thoroughly satisfy her Majesty that all doubt shall be removed of my credit with your Honour ever'.<sup>3</sup> It is a pity that we do not know the story of the witches of Muscovy. Pre-

<sup>1</sup> H. ix. 344, 430.

<sup>2</sup> H. x. 13, 76.

<sup>3</sup> H. x. 76.







sumably it was the 'vain toy', referred to by Sir Henry Lee. At last, on 25 March 1600, Richard received definite notice that the Queen would employ him, although for a time he was uncertain whether the embassy would not be delayed for a year.<sup>1</sup> In fact, however, his instructions were drafted on 1 June, and on the same day he was knighted, coming with 'thirty men in a livery very well appointed'.<sup>2</sup> He was to be careful to maintain the honour and dignity of the Queen's person and to do all he could to forward the interests of the merchants, who, incidentally, had to pay £2,057 for the cost of the embassy.<sup>3</sup> He was to explain away the presence of the English agent in Constantinople with the Turkish forces in Hungary. The agent went under durance from the Grand Signor and had been reproved. Moreover, he had been able to procure liberation for many poor Christian captives, as he had already done for Muscovite subjects in Constantinople itself. It was untrue that English ordnance had been supplied to the Turk; and untrue also that any support had been given to Poland against Sweden, the alliance of which with Muscovy had the full sympathy of the Queen. Lee must ascertain, if he can, the truth about the Austrian match, and if he finds that any interference with English trade is likely as a result, must represent to the Muscovite the superior advantages of amity with England. But if the matter is far gone, he must make it clear that, so long as English subjects are not supplanted, the Queen wishes the Emperor as many more friends as may be good for his estate. It is clear from the sequel that Lee had also an oral commission to suggest the possibility of an English wife for the Emperor's son, but about this there is nothing in the instructions. If he should be asked about the prospects of peace between England and Spain, these direct

<sup>1</sup> H. ix. 116 (app. misdated in original); *S.P.D.* cclxxiv. 108.

<sup>2</sup> *Penshurst MSS.* ii. 466; *Letters of Philip Gawdy*, 98.

<sup>3</sup> Cheyney, i. 336.



him to say that negotiations are in progress, and that in his personal opinion a good issue is more probable than the contrary. He was to return by Sweden, bearing conciliatory letters from the Queen to the Grand Duke.<sup>1</sup> Richard had gone by 13 June, when Sir Henry asked Cecil to confirm a transfer to him of the constablenesship of Harlech, which had been arranged between them.<sup>2</sup>

But on 13 June Lee was troubled about another matter. A royal visit to Oxfordshire was again in contemplation. This was no longer so welcome a prospect to the hermit of Ditchley as it had been eight years before. As usual, he appealed to Cecil:<sup>3</sup>

Her Majesty threatens a progress and her coming to my houses, of which I would be most proud, as oft beforetime, if my fortune answered my desire, or part of her Highness' many promises performed. My estate without my undoing cannot bear it. My continuance in her court has been long, my charge great, my land sold and debts not small. How this will agree with the entertaining of such a Prince your wisdom can best judge, and I beseech you consider of.

Lee need not have been alarmed. There was no long progress in 1600; Elizabeth was content to pay visits in the neighbourhood of London.<sup>4</sup> A few days after the date of his letter, however, Lee did figure in a royal pageant, although not at his own expense. His cousin and Cecil's very troublesome aunt, Elizabeth Lady Russell, was marrying her daughter Anne, one of the Queen's maids of honour, to Henry Lord Herbert, the son of the Earl of Worcester. Sir Henry Lee, she wrote, would be one of those who would go with her to court to bring away the bride.<sup>5</sup> The wedding itself took place at Blackfriars in the presence of the Queen, who stayed at Lord Cobham's house, next Lady Russell's. She was carried in a litter from the water-side. A painting of the

<sup>1</sup> H. x. 169, 175; *Cotton MS. Nero, B. viii, f. 32.*

<sup>2</sup> H. x. 180; cf. p. 64.

<sup>3</sup> H. x. 180.

<sup>4</sup> *Eliz. Stage*, iv. 113.

<sup>5</sup> H. x. 175.





Marcus Gheeraerts school, which exists in two versions at Melbury and Sherborne, depicts the ceremony, and a plausible conjecture has traced the lineaments of Sir Henry in those of a Garter Knight who walks in the front rank of the procession.<sup>1</sup> During the autumn Lee had various suits to pursue with Cecil. He commends them, as was his wont, with gifts of venison, as 'a fee, out of my keeperly office'.<sup>2</sup> Can he have a benefice for one Mr. Pryce, who was apparently an inmate of his house? It may have been the Henry Price whom Lee himself presented to the living of Fleetmarston in 1584, or the John Price whom he presented to that of Aylesbury in 1597.<sup>3</sup> Can William Essex of Lambourne in Essex have leave to travel abroad for three years in order 'to avoid his many needy kinsmen and needless hangers on'?<sup>4</sup> Thomas Beaufoy, of Edmondscott in Warwickshire, wants to be excused from being High Sheriff. This request, at least, was successful.<sup>5</sup> At the end of the year Lee was ill. He reports to Cecil a visit to Woodstock by the Duke of Bracciano, a cousin of Mary de' Medici, Queen of France, regretting that he had not had fuller notice, in order that he might make proper preparation for so great a Prince. But the Duke had taken everything in good part, had sported in the park, and taken 'a note of such writings as he found in her Highness' bed-chamber, written in the window by her Majesty, being prisoner there'. And he had insisted, much against Lee's will, on seeing him in his bed at the High Lodge, where he had been for many weeks. Lee was still not able to stand or move. 'My time is not long', he thinks, 'God end me with his grace.'<sup>6</sup>

Lee had still a decade of life before him, but he was now, without knowing it, on the verge of just such a crisis

<sup>1</sup> *Eliz. Stage*, i. 169; Dillon in *Arch. Journal*, lxxii. 69.

<sup>2</sup> H. x. 350.

<sup>3</sup> H. x. 278, 306, 350; *Dillon Notes*, G. 107, 219.

<sup>4</sup> H. x. 323; *Harl. Soc.* lvi. 24; lvii. 125.

<sup>5</sup> H. x. 383; *Harl. Soc.* xii. 203; *L.I.* ix. 146-7.

<sup>6</sup> H. x. 427.



in his fortunes as he had always steered his course to avoid. He became entangled in the tragic events which brought to an end the chequered destinies of Robert Earl of Essex. It was not his own fault. Sufficient evidence has been given of his persistent cult of Robert Cecil, who during the closing years of Elizabeth's reign became the most powerful, as he was the most competent, of her ministers. A younger Lee had had no great difficulty in attaching himself at once to the interests of Lord Burghley and to those of the Earl of Leicester. The notable opposition between these in early days had been much modified in their later years. But the mantle of Burghley had fallen upon Cecil and that of Leicester upon his stepson Essex; and as Essex grew from a showy stripling to a man of far-reaching ambitions, the conflict between the favourite and the statesman for influence with the Queen became the dominant feature of court life. The nicest balance was required in those who, like Lee, desired to stand well with both parties. The affair of the Vice-Chamberlainship has shown that he had some measure of success.<sup>1</sup> Essex and Lee had been companions in the tilt, and an indirect family relation existed between them through Lettice Knollys, the Earl's mother, who was a granddaughter of Lee's step-grandmother. We find Lee interested in the Earl's fortunes as early as 1592, when he wrote to his brother Richard in some perturbation about the supposed treacherous designs of Philip of Spain, which he thought might involve a practice against the Earl's life.<sup>2</sup> When Essex started for the Cadiz expedition in 1596, Lee was chosen, with Fulke Greville, to carry him the Queen's farewell from Plymouth.<sup>3</sup> In the following year he wrote to Cecil for news of 'that noble gentleman' on the Island voyage, as to which 'bruits' had reached him.<sup>4</sup> In July 1598 Essex

<sup>1</sup> Cf. p. 171.

<sup>2</sup> H. iv. 206.

<sup>3</sup> H. vi. 208; *Dillon Notes*, W. 151, from *Addl. MS.* 24445.

<sup>4</sup> H. vii. 420.





retired in dudgeon to Wanstead, after a quarrel with the Queen in the Council Chamber, during which she had boxed his ears and he had laid his hand upon his sword-hilt. Friends, such as Sir Thomas Egerton and his uncle, Sir William Knollys, long urged him to make his submission. Among them was Lee, whose elaborate discourse shows some gift for diplomacy.<sup>1</sup>

By my occasion of beinge at Court, I did observe that which I was sory and glad to see: a Court naked without you and yet not without a longinge desire to have you there againe: I heard by others how truelie m<sup>r</sup> Secretarie had made report of your Lo: good service in Councell, how well her ma<sup>tie</sup> lyked of it, protestinge that you could do better for others then for your sellfe: by some speach with m<sup>r</sup> Secretarie, I have his opinion that y<sup>t</sup> all myght and would do well and his disposition to do the best offices that lay in him, notwithstandinge your Lo: hard conceite of him for some thinge, whereof if nothinge else would satisfie your L:, he did not doubt but tyme would cleare him. Her ma<sup>tie</sup> never used me with more grace, but yet so that I might plainlie see her recommendation of my kindness and care to please her to be a secret complaint that she could not find the like where she more desired it. I know how unfitt I am to advise one much wiser then my sellfe in this case where your honour is more dear to you then your life; but yet may it please your L: to consider theise circumstances. She is your Sovereigne with whome you may not beate upon aequall condicions, she denieth the ground of the difference which is a kind of satisfaccion: by all likelihood she would be glad to meete you hallfe way: if that which now doth not a little trouble her should further distemper her upon whose life and health you know how many depend, I am assured it would be a greater grieve unto you then the losse of her favour: on thother syde that which you feele, as m<sup>r</sup> Grivell and other your friends in Courte do wiselie foresee, can be no benefitt unto you, for admitt that you drawe her to forgett her prowes and to yeild in her affection to that which she is unwillinge to do: your peace cannot be without matter of new difference. Inas-much as she will hardlie forgett into how unaequall condicions

<sup>1</sup> *S.P.D.* xlv, p. 40.



you brought her, whereas if you prevent her in kindness and yeild to her to whome it is no disparagement to yeild, all circumstances considered; you shall do nothinge unworthie of your selfe; you shall make a surer peace and love with more ease to that which I take to be your owne end. I graunt your wronge to be greater then so noble a hart can well digest: but consider my good L: how great she is with whome you deale, how willinge, with your little yeildinge to be conquered, what advantage you have in yeildinge when you are wronged, what disadvantage by facing her whom, though you deserve never so much, yet you must rely upon for favore: how stronge you shall make your enemies, how weake your frends, how provoked patience turnde to fury: and delayed anger to hatred: what oportunities her late losse and the states present necessitie may give you to benefitt your sellfe and yours: and lastlie what offence the world that honoreth vertue may take, when it shall find that to ryght your sellfe you neglect her. But this, as all, in my love I referre to your better judgement, and onelie advise, whatsoever peace you make, you use no meanes but your sellfe, which will be more honorable for you, more acceptable for her.

About the same time, still pursuing his task of mediation, Lee wrote also to Cecil:<sup>1</sup>

Avow, I beseech you, love and friendship to a man of more worth; now is the time for you to show and he to accept. Leave circumstances apart, with private doubts of both parts, the ball is made round and will run, yea, and be tossed from one to another. Since you are placed where you are, both your forces joined will be little enough, if not somewhat too short. I wish, as becometh me for her Majesty's service, the good of my country and as many as loveth you both, with no hurt to yourselves I am sure.

It was good enough advice, but temperaments were against it. A reconciliation with the Queen was in the end effected, and Essex returned to court. Lee wrote in congratulation:<sup>2</sup>

My mind hath long striven with age, but no remedy. Yield

<sup>1</sup> H. viii. 320.

<sup>2</sup> H. viii. 403.





I must. The weakness I find in my feet calleth for rest, the weakness of my estate for removal of charges; but, hoary and halt as I am, my spirits are warmed by the report of the care you took for her Majesty's safety.

He is evidently referring to the plot, or supposed plot, of Edward Squire to poison Elizabeth, in the investigation of which Essex had been active. But, as it proved, Essex's chances of supremacy over the Queen's mind were by this time gone for ever. I need not repeat the familiar tale of his ill-omened campaign in Ireland, of his rash return home without permission, of his long restraint, of the charges brought against him at York House, of his loss of nerve, and of his final and disastrous flare-up in February 1601. It is more pleasant to record that when he was set at liberty in the autumn of 1600 to repair to the house of Sir William Knollys in Oxfordshire, Lee was not forgetful of him, but sent a kindly offer to bring hounds and hawks to Rotherfield and give him the healthful exercise of sport.<sup>1</sup>

It was not this act of courtesy to a fallen friend which brought Lee into peril. That came in another way, through a cousin, whose connexion with Essex was closer than his own. This was Thomas Lee, the younger son of Sir Henry's half-uncle, Benedict Lee of Bigging. We know little of him until he emerges, with a reputation already tarnished, as a soldier of fortune in the unquiet service of Ireland. He was born in 1552 or 1553, had received some kindness from Burghley in his youth, and was known personally to the Queen.<sup>2</sup> It is possible that Thomas went to Ireland in 1573-6, when his second cousin Walter Earl of Essex, the father of Robert, was vainly attempting to colonize Ulster. A Thomas Lee was constable of Carrickfergus in 1576, and 'one Lea, an Irishman' is cited for details of the Earl's death in that year by the 'libeller' who ascribes it to the poison

<sup>1</sup> H. x. 307.

<sup>2</sup> S.P.I. cxci. 43; J. Lodge, *Desiderata Curiosa Hibernica*, i. 97.



of Leicester.<sup>1</sup> Our Thomas Lee was not, of course, strictly an Irishman, either of native or of Anglo-Norman origin. In 1599 he claimed to have had twenty years' experience of the Irish wars, and he first comes clearly before us during the Leinster revolt of James Eustace, Viscount Baltinglas, and Fiagh McHugh O'Byrne, which broke out in 1580. By the end of 1581 Baltinglas had fled to Spain, and Fiagh, long hunted through 'the glinnes' of Wicklow, had made a hollow submission, which left him for many years a constant danger to the Pale. Lee was active in the campaign with a troop of twenty-four horsemen. Archbishop Loftus and Sir Henry Wallop reported that he had saved the greater part of Kildare, and the Lord Deputy, Lord Grey of Wilton, wrote that he seemed settled to reform his misspent life by hazard in service.<sup>2</sup> He was recommended for employment in the Netherlands, but in fact remained in Kildare, where he had acquired the estate of Castle Martin by a marriage between 1578 and 1582 with the widow of John Eustace, by birth Elizabeth Peppard.<sup>3</sup> Lord Grey gave him some additional land at Ranelagh in Wicklow.<sup>4</sup> He was in trouble in 1582. There was a brawl with Thomas Maria Wingfield; a pardon with his wife for looting cattle from the tenants of Robert Pipho of Holywood.<sup>5</sup> An expedition into Kilkenny in pursuit of marauders brought him into conflict with the powerful Thomas Butler, Earl of Ormonde, then in charge of Munster, who was the only consistent supporter of the crown among the Anglo-Norman nobles of Ireland.<sup>6</sup> Wallop wrote more sadly in January 1583, 'There are many disorders in M<sup>r</sup> Thomas Lee', and in February his horsemen were disbanded. Geoffrey Fenton, the Secretary for Ireland, however, still thought well of

<sup>1</sup> *Carew MSS.* ii. 45; *Copie of a Letter*, 30; *Leicester's Commonwealth*, 40.

<sup>2</sup> *S.P.I.* lxxxvi. 10; lxxxviii. 25, 26.

<sup>3</sup> *S.P.I.* lxxxviii. 40 (1); *Cal. P. Rolls (Ireland)*, ii. 204; *Cal. Irish Fiants*, 3972.

<sup>4</sup> *S.P.I.* lxxxviii. 40 (3).

<sup>5</sup> *S.P.I.* lxxxiii. 64; xc. 3; xcvi. 12.

<sup>6</sup> *S.P.I.* xcvi. 5.





him, and with this encouragement Lee sought to obtain his reinstatement through influence at home.<sup>1</sup> He asked Burghley for a lease of some of the lands of Baltinglas on the frontier of Kildare, which he would undertake to defend with a company of 50 foot and 25 horse. Probably he came to England to follow his suit, which was supported by a letter from Sir Henry. The Queen and the Privy Council wrote to the Lords Justices, who were in charge of Ireland during a vacancy in the Deputyship, granting his demands.<sup>2</sup> All the Elizabethan dealings with Ireland are like a bad dream. Lee made his headquarters at Castle Reban, which he acquired from its baron, Walter Fitzgerald, also known as St. Michael. According to a statement by St. Michael after Lee's death, he took a lease of the Castle and its attached land of Castletown for sixty-one years at a sum down of £400 and a rent of £50, and on finding that it was entailed upon St. Michael's heirs, refused either to surrender it or to make the agreed payments.<sup>3</sup> Castle Reban is near Athy in South Kildare, just within the edge of the Pale, and near it is the village of Woodstock, which possibly owes its name to Lee. Half-tamed native septs lay around, O'Moores, O'Maddens, and Kavanaghs in Queen's County, King's County, and Kilkenny to the west, O'Byrnes and O'Tooles in the recesses of the Wicklow mountains to the east. The Lords Justices doubted whether Lee could do much with so small a force, but he had some success in 1584 and secured the confidence of the gentry of Kildare.<sup>4</sup> But he does not seem ever to have succeeded in getting the pay for his troops, and fell into financial embarrassment.<sup>5</sup> Sir John Perrot came as Deputy in the course of the year, and early in 1585 Lee served with credit under him

<sup>1</sup> *S.P.I.* xcix. 25, 74; c. 52.

<sup>2</sup> *S.P.I.* ci. 47; cii. 57-9; ciii. 46-7; *Cal. P. Rolls* (Ireland), ii. 44.

<sup>3</sup> *Cal. P. Rolls* (Ireland), ii. 30; H. xii. 433, 578.

<sup>4</sup> *S.P.I.* cvii. 26; cix. 56, 57.

<sup>5</sup> *S.P.I.* cix. 51; cxi. 83.



against James Oge M<sup>c</sup>Sorley-boy M<sup>c</sup>Donnell in Ulster. But he complained later that, when the fighting was over, he was sent back to Kildare without his footmen.<sup>1</sup> Perrot, however, supported him in a new quarrel with Ormonde, which arose from Lee's pursuit into Kilkenny of Cahir Ore Kavanagh, with whose sept Ormonde and his henchman, Sir Nicholas White, the Master of the Rolls, were on good terms. Lee wrote of Ormonde as 'mine ancient foe', and Sir Henry Lee tells us in 1592 that his cousin's troubles came of the Butlers.<sup>2</sup> The feud may have arisen out of some incident earlier than 1582 which is unknown to us. Had Lee once been a neighbour of Ormonde in Kilkenny? There is a Woodstock there, as well as in Kildare, and, for the matter of that, another in Galway.

For over a year after March 1586 Lee's name is absent from the Irish records. Probably he was serving in the Netherlands, where he is known to have been at some period. A Captain Lee was there from May to July 1586, but I do not find his Christian name.<sup>3</sup> Thomas Lee was back in Ireland before July 1587, when a dispute with the reversioners to the Castle Reban estate led to his imprisonment for eight weeks in Dublin. This was terminated by an order from the Privy Council, also, one fears, due to influence, for his release.<sup>4</sup> In October he was planning an attack upon Walter Reagh Fitzgerald, a son-in-law of Fiagh O'Byrne. But his wife, who was of Irish blood, gave him away, and Reagh murdered a follower, who had been in concert with Lee. A separation between Lee and his wife followed.<sup>5</sup> Sir William Fitzwilliam had now come to Ireland as Deputy, with a hint from the Privy Council to employ Lee against the O'Moores. But Lee was still without his

<sup>1</sup> *S.P.I.* cxii. 53; cxv. 39; cxxxvii. 13.

<sup>2</sup> *S.P.I.* cix. 10; cxix. 11, 15; *H.* iv. 206.

<sup>3</sup> *S.P.I.* cxxiii. 21; *S.P.D.* cclxxviii. 54.

<sup>4</sup> *Dasent*, xv. 177; *S.P.D.* ccxxviii. 33.

<sup>5</sup> *S.P.I.* cxxxi. 65.







footmen.<sup>1</sup> He effected a reconciliation with his wife, and sent her over to plead his cause, and in January 1589 the Privy Council directed the restoration of the company.<sup>2</sup> Fitzwilliam did not comply, and in June Lee obtained leave to go to England himself on the excuse that he had to release Sir Henry from heavy bonds on his behalf.<sup>3</sup> The Council were considering his complaints against Perrot in November and December, and in December 1590 instructed Fitzwilliam to give back the foot. He had then been long a suitor.<sup>4</sup> It seems doubtful whether Fitzwilliam complied. In any case, Lee had other troubles to face. He could not get the pay for his horse. And there was a disastrous fire, ascribed by Fitzwilliam to lewd servants, but by Lee himself to his enemy Sir Nicholas White. Fitzwilliam was at least sympathetic.<sup>5</sup>

M<sup>r</sup> Lee, poor gent, is not left worth one penny in Ireland, more than himself and his wife goeth in, except some horses, and I hear both honest and wise men value his loss to be above £1000.

In December 1591 Meyler Magrath, the Archbishop of Cashel, was complaining of the extortions of Lee's band.<sup>6</sup> In June 1592 the St. Michael family were still pursuing him for the non-payment of charges due to them out of the Castle Reban estate.<sup>7</sup> And in the same month Sir Henry Lee wrote to his brother Richard in some perturbation as to his future. The best hope was in Essex. My lord Treasurer might do him hurt and my lord of Essex must do him good, which Sir Henry assured himself he would. Thomas would willingly adventure his life to requite kindness from Essex. Could not Richard move Essex to help their common cousin before it was too late?<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *S.P.I.* cxxxii. 49.

<sup>2</sup> *S.P.I.* cxxxvii. 13, 27; Dasent, xvii. 20.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 233.

<sup>4</sup> *S.P.D.* ccxxviii. 33-4; ccxxix. 12; Dasent, xx. 106.

<sup>5</sup> *Carew MSS.* iii. 50; *S.P.I.* cxlix. 59; cl. 7; cli. 9; clvi. 16; clvii. 46, 48; clix. 37; clx. 34; clxi. 39.

<sup>6</sup> Dasent, xxii. 155.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* 580.

<sup>8</sup> *H.* iv. 206.



In 1593 all Irish affairs began to be overshadowed by the menace of Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone. He became the titular native chief of Ulster in the spring, and was thereafter clearly heading for rebellion. He was not yet ready to act, but although he co-operated with Fitzwilliam in suppressing an outbreak of the Maguires in Connaught, he was gravely suspected of complicity with them. Lee also took part in this campaign and was commended both by Tyrone and by Sir Henry Bagenal for his forwardness in entering the deep ford of Golune during an action.<sup>1</sup> Tyrone now made it a grievance that the honour due to him for his help had been withheld, and retired to Dungannon in dudgeon. The Irish government decided to negotiate with him, and made choice of Lee as a preliminary agent. Between him and Tyrone there was an old familiarity. Tyrone called him 'Tom', and they had been bedfellows, possibly in Lee's childhood, when Tyrone seems to have been an inmate of the Earl of Leicester's household, or possibly in 1574, when he was helping Walter Earl of Essex in Ulster. They had not, however, met for a long time. Lee was now successful in arranging parleys between Tyrone and the official commissioners, and for a time any open breach was averted.<sup>2</sup> Shortly afterwards Lee decided to go to England and again air his wrongs from successive Deputies. Fitzwilliam advised Burghley not to admit him to the Queen's presence, and enclosed a note of insolent speeches which he had used to the sheriff of Kildare during a dispute with the Eustaces about rights at Castle Martin.<sup>3</sup> Lee, however, went and remained in England for some months, completing for Elizabeth's information a *Brief Declaration of the Government of Ireland*, which he had begun before his interviews with Tyrone.<sup>4</sup> During

<sup>1</sup> *S.P.I.* clxxii. 4, 16.

<sup>2</sup> *S.P.I.* clxxiii. 89 (1).

<sup>3</sup> *S.P.I.* clxxiv. 38; clxxv. 5.

<sup>4</sup> *Royal MS.* 17 B. xlv; *T.C. Dublin MS.* (H.M.C. viii. 1, 582), printed in J. Lodge, *Desiderata Curiosa Hibernica*, i (1772), 87.







CAPTAIN THOMAS LEE  
*Aetatis Suae 43, An. Do. 1594*  
*Ascribed to MARCUS GHEERAERTS*





this visit he sat for a portrait which long remained at Ditchley. It represents him in an elaborately embroidered shirt, but with thighs, legs, and feet completely naked. It is the get-up of an *Hybernus miles*, as shown in A. Bruyn's *Omnium Paene Gentium Imagines* (1577), and obviously well adapted for bog-trotting.<sup>1</sup> Thomas bears a round shield, a conical helmet, a sword, and a snap-haunce pistol, and carries in his right hand a spear with a pointed base. The portrait is inscribed *Aetatis Suae 43, An. Do. 1594. Facere et Pati Fortia*. The motto is taken from the speech of Mucius Scaevola in Livy.<sup>2</sup> The nature of the pistol has thrown some doubt on the date, and therefore on the identity of the sitter, who is not named. But it seems to be now established that the snap-haunce was known by the end of the sixteenth century.<sup>3</sup> The *Declaration*, which dwells on the wrongs suffered by royal officers in Ireland, attacks the honesty of Fitzwilliam, and urges the desirability of establishing good relations with Tyrone and the northern lords, was not ready for the Queen before November. But Lee's prospects were now improved. Sir William Russell had replaced Fitzwilliam as Deputy in July. He had been associated with Lee in the operations against Fiagh O'Byrne in 1581, and now wrote commending his valour and painstaking, and asking for his return. He did return, and Russell gave him his footmen.<sup>4</sup> About this time his wife died, and Castle Martin reverted to the Eustaces.<sup>5</sup> Lee now remarried with one Kinborough Valentine.<sup>6</sup> It is an unusual personal name. I find a Kinborough Hastings among the witnesses in the Hook Norton litigation of 1597.<sup>7</sup> But she was aged 80, and I cannot trace any connexion. Before the end of 1595 Lee was again in

<sup>1</sup> Plate iv; cf. *Shakespeare's England*, ii. 114, from C. Rutz, *Habitus Variarium Orbis Gentium* (1581).

<sup>2</sup> Livy, *Hist.* ii. 12.

<sup>3</sup> B. E. Sargeaunt in *The Times* (8 Oct. 1934).

<sup>4</sup> *S.P.I.* clxxvi. 12; clxxvii. 22; *Carew MSS.* iii. 128.

<sup>5</sup> *Cal. P. Rolls (Ireland)*, ii. 145, 339; *S.P.I.* clxxiv. 38.

<sup>6</sup> *H.* xiv. 138; cf. p. 197.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. p. 176.





trouble. He had taken two O'Tooles, who were under government protection, and had been instrumental in bringing Walter Reagh Fitzgerald to his end. One he had murdered, by binding him to a maypole and setting a man to thrust out his eyes with his thumbs; the other he held captive. Russell told him to send the survivor in and not make his own house a prison. But the story was more than Burghley, when he heard it, could stand. It must be sharply reformed, he said, or else the like service would not be performed. He doubted whether Russell would do anything, but in fact Lee was sent to prison.<sup>1</sup> It is not likely that he stayed there long. The affairs of Ireland were not such that a competent soldier could be left unused for a trifle. During 1595 it had become clear that Tyrone in Ulster and Fiagh O'Byrne in Wicklow were in close concert. Both were proclaimed traitors. Russell took Fiagh's stronghold at Ballinacor, and he submitted in November. A series of truces with Tyrone terminated with a hollow peace in April 1596. He was really waiting in the hope of securing Spanish support, which never reached him to any effective extent. But the government fancied that he could be brought to Dublin and thence to England, to sue for a royal pardon, and once more they turned to Lee as a possible intermediary. In March 1596 Lee was fighting in the O'Maddens' country.<sup>2</sup> On 1 April he told Burghley that he believed Tyrone might be brought in, if offered life and liberty, and suggested that a letter from Essex would be helpful. Sir Ralph Lane supported the idea, and urged that the Queen should be reconciled to Lee. She consented somewhat reluctantly. Russell might employ Lee, at his own discretion, not as seeming to have any authority from her. If Tyrone wished to come to England, she had no reason to refuse, although it was

<sup>1</sup> *S.P.I.* clxxxiii. 52; clxxxiv. 14; ccii (1), 95; *Carew MSS.* iii. 237; Wright, *Eliz.* ii. 452.

<sup>2</sup> *S.P.I.* clxxxvii. 36; *Carew MSS.* iii. 243.



not fit that she should desire it.<sup>1</sup> Lee was employed. He saw Tyrone on 10 August and arranged for another meeting later.<sup>2</sup> Apparently this never took place. Meanwhile, complications had arisen in Wicklow. Fiagh O'Byrne had broken out again on the plea that Lee had made a treacherous attack on him, and had retaken Ballinacor.<sup>3</sup> Towns of Lee's had been burnt, either by Geraldines or by Butlers. He should die, he declared, the poorest man that ever served Her Majesty.<sup>4</sup> Russell decided to pursue Fiagh to the death even at the risk of offending Tyrone. A new fort was built at Rathdrum in Ranelagh, and Lee placed in charge. He hoped, he told Cecil, to suppress Fiagh, and then get rid of 'the miserable service of Ireland'.<sup>5</sup> Fiagh was hunted through a winter and spring, and finally on 8 May 1597 run to earth in a cave, where Lee's sergeant Milborne cut off his head with a sword. The head was set up on Dublin Castle, but a few months later it was sent to Essex in England. Essex referred the bearer for a reward to Cecil, who said that head-money had already been paid in Ireland. The head was then given to a boy to bury in Enfield Chase, but he put it on a tree, where two other boys found it later. Cecil records the Queen's displeasure at the transaction.

Her Majesty is surely not well contented that the head of such a base Robin Hood is brought so solemnly to England. It is no such trophy of a notorious victory, and yet of it his friends here make great advantage.

I suppose he means Lee's friends. A very qualified congratulation was accordingly sent to Lee by the Privy Council.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *S.P.I.* clxxxviii. 2, 13; clxxxix. 42; cxc. 18; cxci. 52; excii. 26; exciii. 43; *Carew MSS.* iii. 180.

<sup>2</sup> *S.P.I.* excii. 26.

<sup>3</sup> *S.P.I.* cxci, 45, 47; excii. 16; exciii. 10.

<sup>4</sup> *Carew MSS.* iii. 247; *S.P.I.* exciii. 43.

<sup>5</sup> *S.P.I.* exciii. 32; cxcvi. 31; cxcviii. 81.

<sup>6</sup> *S.P.I.* cxcix. 28, 31, 32, 60; *H.* vii. 395; *Pepys MSS.* (H.M.C.), 182 (misdated); *Dasent*, xxvii. 185.





During the campaign a grateful Russell had given Lee the post of Provost Marshal of Connaught.<sup>1</sup> We may be sure that he never enjoyed it, for in the course of May Russell, who had throughout been on bad terms with his principal general, Sir Henry Norris, a favourite of the Queen, was replaced as Deputy by Lord Burgh. In October he died. No new Deputy was appointed, but Ireland was left in the charge of Lords Justices, with Lee's 'ancient foe', the Earl of Ormonde, as Lieutenant-General. Lee's chances were now gone. The operations in Wicklow continued against Fiagh's sons, who had help from Tyrone. But the victors had quarrelled among themselves. Lee had brought charges of treachery against Sir Henry Harington, and now one Captain Charles Montagu brought others against Lee himself. He had intrigued with the O'Byrnes, repudiated responsibility for their father's death, and misused his influence with Tyrone to delay peace, in order to rob Ormonde of any credit for it. Ormonde had already complained of what may have been no more than an error of military judgement on Lee's part.<sup>2</sup> He had now a better opportunity. The custody of Rathdrum was transferred to Montagu, and by 28 February 1598 Lee was in Dublin Castle, to stand his trial for treason.<sup>3</sup> The case against him was not of the strongest. Sir Charles Calthorpe, the Irish Attorney-General, summed up the position in a letter to Burghley. He is uncertain as to Lee's guilt, noting his 'long familiarity and affection to the Earl of Tyrone (not yet by any private action broken)', his discontent under Lord Burgh, who took from him some government given him by Russell in Wicklow, his 'rash speech and other unadvisedness'. He has 'both good merits and evil infirmities'. These prejudice him, but on the other hand are 'so many good services, so well personally performed by

<sup>1</sup> *Cal. Irish Fiants*, 6072.

<sup>2</sup> *S.P.I.* cxcix. 70; cc. 106; cci. 99; ccii (1), 73, 95.

<sup>3</sup> *S.P.I.* ccii (1), 1, 61.



him (as I know none the like of his place in this kingdom), and again so many good recompenses and favours which he hath received at Her Majesty's hands'. The acts and words ascribed to him took place while he was Commissioner of Parleys, and such 'are not usually sifted in the worst part'.<sup>1</sup> That is, no doubt, an axiom of diplomacy. Calthorpe's views seem to have prevailed, even though Tyrone was indiscreet enough to send Lee a sympathetic letter, which fell into Ormonde's hands.<sup>2</sup> The documents in the case were forwarded to the Privy Council on 30 June 1598, and by 4 July Lee had been given the liberty of Dublin on bonds in £1,700 for good behaviour.<sup>3</sup> Doubtless Sir Henry Lee had again to stand security. Thomas had made his cousin Richard agent for his claim in England, but had later brought accusations against him, the nature of which is not stated.<sup>4</sup> His best policy now was of course to lie low. But this he could not do. On 14 November he was again committed to the Castle. He had approached Thomas Jones, the Bishop of Meath and a member of the Irish Council, and brought counter-charges against Ormonde himself of practising with Tyrone. This he said Tyrone had admitted to him at their interview in 1596, and he had further information through his wife, who was a papist. And he suggested to the Bishop a 'plot' by which all the forces of the rebels should be turned against Ormonde. He was also accused of encouraging James Fitzpiers, the Sheriff of Kildare, whose loyalty was suspected, to disregard an order of the Council to repair to Dublin. According to one account he had said to Fitzpiers, 'James, thou and I will be shortly M<sup>c</sup>Rustclyns, for we can get nothing as we are'. Further, he was planning to marry his daughter to the Earl of Kildare, and would give £3,000 with her. To this his answer was that it was he who had kept the Earl of Kildare, the chief of the eastern Geraldines, from

<sup>1</sup> *S.P.I.* ccii (1), 94.

<sup>2</sup> *S.P.I.* ccii (2), 12.

<sup>3</sup> *S.P.I.* ccii (2), 88, 94.

<sup>4</sup> *S.P.I.* cc. 69; H. viii. 32.







rebellion. Ormonde claimed later that the Council made Lee go down on his knees to him and beg his pardon.<sup>1</sup> They sent the papers in the case to Cecil, and Lee wrote to the Privy Council asking to be allowed to come and put his 'plot' before them. Sir Ralph Lane told Cecil that the loyal subjects of Kildare held Lee guiltless.<sup>2</sup>

Probably Lee was again released on bonds. But he obtained a pardon through Essex, when another turn of the wheel of fortune brought the Earl to Ireland as Lord Deputy in April 1599.<sup>3</sup> It became one of the charges against Essex after his disgrace that he had allowed his marshal, Sir Christopher Blount, to send Lee to parley with Tyrone. This was in July or August, when Essex had retired to Dublin, after abandoning the idea of an immediate campaign in Ulster. Lee says that he found Tyrone much changed, and returned, cursing the day that ever he knew him.<sup>4</sup> When Essex crossed to England in September, he allowed Lee to come with him to speak with Sir Henry, who was still in great bonds for him. On arrival, he told him to repair to Sir Henry, and not to go to London or the court.<sup>5</sup> This order, however, was not obeyed. Lee was at the Savoy with his cousin on 28 November, when he wrote to the Lords Justices, asking for the safeguard of his house and town, the dispatch of his wife to England, and protection from Ormonde on his return. Ormonde sent a copy of this letter from 'that railing fellow' Thomas Lee to the Privy Council.<sup>6</sup> Meanwhile Lee had gone with his cousin to court, and was there denounced by the Archbishop of Cashel as a traitor. With Sir Henry he protested to Cecil against the 'indecent and contumelious

<sup>1</sup> *S.P.I.* ccvii. 40.

<sup>2</sup> *S.P.I.* ccii (3), 171; (4), 14, 46; ccv. 74.

<sup>3</sup> *S.P.D.* cclxxviii. 63; *S.P.I.* cciii. 57; ccv. 37.

<sup>4</sup> *S.P.D.* cclxxv. 33; cclxxviii. 62; *S.P.I.* ccvii. 13; *Rutland MSS.* i. 361, 370; *Corr. James VI* (C.S. lxxviii), 109.

<sup>5</sup> *S.P.I.* ccv. 188, 191.

<sup>6</sup> *S.P.I.* ccvii. 40.



words used', and asked for an inquiry.<sup>1</sup> He then sat down once more to write a book, for dedication to Cecil.<sup>2</sup> This still remains in manuscript, under the title of *The Discovery and Recovery of Ireland, with the Author's Apology*.<sup>3</sup> There is again much historical and political comment by way of introduction to a vindication of his own conduct. During the winter of 1599 and the spring of 1600 Lee was spending his time between Woodstock and the Savoy, and pestering Cecil with letters. He sends intelligence received from Ireland, and has something so important for the Queen's service that he must impart it to Cecil in person. May he see Lord Mountjoy, now going to Ireland as Deputy, and plead for his friends there? May he petition the Privy Council? May he go back to Ireland and have the seneschalship of the O'Byrne's country and the lieutenancy of Leix.<sup>4</sup> Sir Henry Lee suggested that, even if Thomas could not be employed, he might at least be allowed to go and sell such things as he had hardly come by both by charge and blood.<sup>5</sup> In March the Privy Council instructed Mountjoy to restore Lee's company, which had been 'cassed', pending his trial, and to put warders in his house. He was now 'suspended upon divers informations that carry great probability of his ill behaviour', but he was 'allied to some whom Her Majesty favoureth', and professed to be able to clear himself.<sup>6</sup> In June Sir Henry complained to Cecil that his cousin's case was still growing worse and worse, 'you know by whom'.<sup>7</sup> Some Irish letters suggest that Thomas may in fact have paid a short visit to Ireland about this time.<sup>8</sup> But if so, he did not go to his own house, for by August his wife Kinborough was in England, penniless, and appealed piteously to Essex,

<sup>1</sup> *S.P.I.* ccvi. 80.

<sup>2</sup> *H.* ix. 412, 414; *S.P.I.* ccvii (2), 157.

<sup>3</sup> *Addl. MS.* 33743; *Camb. Gonville and Caius MS.* 150 (*H.M.C.* viii (1), 582); *Ditchley MSS.* (*H.M.C.* ii. 31); *Calthorpe MS.* (*H.M.C.* ii. 40).

<sup>4</sup> *H.* ix. 414; x. 12, 77; *S.P.I.* ccvii (2), 157.

<sup>5</sup> *H.* x. 85.

<sup>6</sup> *S.P.I.* ccvii (2), 54.

<sup>7</sup> *H.* x. 180.

<sup>8</sup> *S.P.I.* ccvii (3), 128; (4), 3, 7.





and perhaps also to Cecil, against her husband's treatment of her. It is now a year since Essex brought him out of Ireland, and in his absence she has endured continual griefs, which she has kept from the babbling echo of the world, hoping to find him in England as she parted with him at Reban. But now she has been over for five weeks. He will not see her, and has returned her many letters unanswered. One of these she sent to Essex. It suggests that Lee had charged her with disloyalty, and called upon her to renounce the title of his wife, and retake her maiden name. If she cannot recover him, she begs at least for maintenance, since of all the thousand pounds' worth which he claims to have bestowed upon her, she has not the value of five pounds left. She knows he has many enemies and matter enough to answer to, and is unwilling to breed him discontent. Before now, she has ventured her life to save him from infamy and death. But she hears that the Queen is next week to go on progress, 'to whom I mean to appeal for justice if my reasonable request is refused'.<sup>1</sup> We do not know what response, if any, Essex made. He was not in a position to do much. That he had not been altogether unmindful of Lee himself is shown by payments in his steward's accounts during 1599 or 1600. On 9 September 1600 Lee asked him to take his son as a servant. On 8 October Essex asked Mountjoy to favour Lee, as one who 'is so near me in blood, and now suffers so much the more for me'.<sup>2</sup> During the autumn Sir Henry Lee was pressing his cousin's case for a pardon with Cecil. Sir William Russell will speak for him. He has now been imprisoned for three years.<sup>3</sup> This period must, of course, include long intervals during which he was at liberty upon bonds. In August he was reported as still muttering that if the Spaniards came to Ireland Ormonde would

<sup>1</sup> H. x. 300; xiv. 138.

<sup>2</sup> *Shirley MSS.* (H.M.C. v. 363); H. x. 309; *S.P.I.* ccvii (5), 85.

<sup>3</sup> H. x. 278.



rebel with the rest, but unwilling to put his evidence before Cecil, as he would be no more believed than a dog.<sup>1</sup> Early in September came a crisis. Sir Henry found Thomas in London in a desperate condition. If he had not taken him away, he would surely have taken up his long home in the Savoy, a place for his wealth the fittest for him. Sir Henry took him to court, and there, 'perceiving Her Majesty's disliking countenance', he fell into so great extremity, that at Beaconsfield, where they lodged for the night, his end was expected. Since then he had recovered somewhat, at Woodstock, and with Lady Chandos at Sudeley. Sir Henry made a fresh appeal to Cecil, and found an explanation of the Queen's attitude in the fact that the furious zeal of the Captain's father for Queen Mary had much distempered him with Her Majesty.<sup>2</sup> Thomas, however, made one more attempt to put his views on Ireland before Cecil.<sup>3</sup> On 22 December Sir Henry still thought that his intercession had been in vain. 'My time is not long, and the shorter through this Her Majesty's displeasure with him. God end me with His grace, and him with her favour.'<sup>4</sup> Shortly afterwards came the rather amazing news from Cecil that the Queen was thinking of appointing Thomas to the Governorship of Connaught. She was not committed. It might be she would rather appoint him than any other, but she would not be bound to it. A gratified Sir Henry wrote his thanks, and his hope that his cousin would be given an adequate force. Ormonde sent another protest. 'I do marvel that that ruffianly fellow, Thomas Lee, is suffered to continue his railing against me.'<sup>5</sup> But the Governorship was not to be Lee's destiny. The outbreak of Essex took place on Sunday, 8 February 1601. No doubt Lee knew what was in the wind. Certainly he knew of secret meetings of the followers of Essex at Lord Mountjoy's house in Holborn. It was a

<sup>1</sup> H. x. 277.<sup>2</sup> H. x. 306; cf. p. 29.<sup>3</sup> *S.P.I.* ccvii (5), 9.<sup>4</sup> H. x. 428.<sup>5</sup> *S.P.I.* ccvii (6), 101; ccviii (1), 16; H. xi. 9.







wonder of God, he said, that he was not at the fateful gathering at Essex House. One may doubt whether God had much to do with it, in view of Lee's proceedings on the Saturday. He had visited Cecil at court, and Sir Gilly Meyrick at Holborn about his own affairs, and from Meyrick he learnt that Essex had been summoned before the Privy Council.<sup>1</sup> He then returned to court and made an offer to Cecil and the Earl of Nottingham to put Essex out of the way for them. They did not like of it. Cecil thought Lee an undertaker who performed nothing. He had offered once to bring in Tyrone's head, but the proposal had been scorned.<sup>2</sup> On the same day Lee, presumably to keep up appearances, attended the performance of *Richard II* at the Globe, when the conspirators tried to give themselves heart with the spectacle of a royal abdication.<sup>3</sup> After the arrest of Essex, he seems to have lost his head. On Thursday, 12 February, he sent Sir Henry Lee a list of the prisoners, expressing an intention to come down to Woodstock, and a hope that 'my true declaring of myself in this time hath (if anything may) well confirmed M<sup>r</sup> Secretary and the Lords of me'.<sup>4</sup> But at 5 p.m. he approached Sir Robert Crosse and Sir Henry Neville, and put a scheme before them. He loved Essex, he said, beyond all men but Sir Henry. Might not half a dozen resolute men possess themselves of the Queen's person, and hold her until she agreed to set the Earl at liberty? He named three others who might join with themselves. Probably both Crosse and Neville were well disposed to Essex, but naturally they refused and, as in duty bound, reported the interview.<sup>5</sup> About 9 o'clock Lee went alone to the presence chamber, passed through to a lobby before the privy chamber, and stood

<sup>1</sup> *S.P.D.* cclxxviii. 62; *Add.* xxxiv. 34.

<sup>2</sup> *S.P.D.* cclxxviii. 54, 55; Stephen, *State Trials*, iii. 91.

<sup>3</sup> *S.P.D.* cclxxviii. 72; cf. Chambers, *Will. Shakespeare*, ii. 323.

<sup>4</sup> *H.* xi. 44.

<sup>5</sup> *S.P.D.* cclxxviii. 61; *Cecil-Carew Corr.* 72; Chamberlain, 104.



talking to the Clerk of the Kitchen, with his back against the closet. His countenance was stern, his colour very pale, and large drops of sweat on his face. He asked whether the Queen had come to supper, and was told she had not. Here he was taken and carried to the Gate House prison. The case was discussed in the Star Chamber on the next day, and the prisoner transferred to the Tower. As he went in Sir Robert Mansell's coach, he said that he thought he had done somewhat to bring him to his end. He got short shrift. An unfriendly account, ascribed to but repudiated by the French ambassador, M. de Boissise, charged Cecil with exaggerating the affair by telling the Queen that Lee had a pistol and meant to kill her, whereupon she fell into a terror, and demanded his immediate punishment. Two examinations of the culprit were taken on the 13th and 14th, and on the 16th he was sent in a close coach, with his hands manacled, to Newgate for trial at dawn. He had little defence to make. To Crosse and Neville he had merely spoken of a hypothetical possibility. Why should he not have been at the privy chamber door? He had been there five hundred times. 'He had spent his blood in Her Majesty's service, and so would again.' He had merely come to get a warrant for delivery of a bond which was in the hands of Meyrick. He had no dagger on him. He was sorry the Queen had ever given him a pardon. It was the worst thing she did for him. He had better have died then. There is little reason to suppose that he meant to kill Elizabeth, but no doubt the mere restraint of her person would amount to high treason. When the verdict was given he declared that no one had set him on, and begged that his son might have the little he left, hoping that he would prove an honest man, and serve his country. On 17 February he was executed at Tyburn.<sup>1</sup> John

<sup>1</sup> *S.P.D.* cclxxviii. 54-5, 61-3, 67-8, 94; *Add.* xxxiv, 34; Dasent, xxxi. 155, 159, 161; H. xi. 102; Winwood, *Memorials*, i. 296, 315; H. L. Stephen, *State Trials*, iii. 91; *Cecil-Carew Corr.* 72; *S.P.I.* ccviii (1), 56.







Chamberlain told Dudley Carleton that he died 'very resolutely and, to seeming, religiously', and had said that his intent was 'only to have angered the Queen for one half hour, that she might have lived the merrier all her life after'.<sup>1</sup> Sir Geoffrey Fenton wrote to Cecil from Ireland, reminding him of a warning that Lee had 'a murdering heart and a murdering hand'.<sup>2</sup> At the trial of Essex himself on 19 February, the matter was brought up again, and the Attorney-General suggested the complicity of Essex, who replied that he understood that Lee was one against him on the last day. 'I am sorry he was allied unto any that are near to me.'<sup>3</sup>

We left Sir Henry Lee, many pages back, disabled by the gout, when the Duke of Bracciano visited Woodstock at the end of 1600. He had been in bed for ten weeks when he heard, the day after it took place, of the Essex revolt. His first impulse was to repair to London with his brother Cromwell, but a relapse held him. He wrote to Cecil and to Thomas, but on the way his messenger learnt the fate of 'that other (of all creatures most hated of me)', and discreetly returned with the letters. Lee wrote again to Cecil, still hoping to arrive in a few days, and adding a request very characteristic of him.<sup>4</sup>

Sir, in the course of his life this wretch hath spent me much; I pay interest no small sum, and have since his coming over increased it. For these greater matters, I will not now speak, but for these matters of pleasure, a great part of which I have interest in, let me have your aid and warrant if it like you. He hath two cast of hawks, whereof an entermed hagar garfalcon is mine, and some four or five geldings, whereof a little Irish hobby is mine, and a white gelding, both which he gave me. I fear the sheriff or some other officer will seize upon them, so shall I be defeated of my own. If they come into my hands, they shall be safe, do her Majesty's service, and ever ready at your commandment, when you please to have them.

<sup>1</sup> Chamberlain, 104.

<sup>3</sup> Stephen, iii. 73.

<sup>2</sup> *S.P.I.* ccviii (1), 59.

<sup>4</sup> *H.* xi. 52, 58.



John Lee of the Armoury had also a claim against Thomas for £170, on a bond for him, and begged Cecil's help in recovering it.<sup>1</sup> Possibly Sir Henry feared that he might be regarded as implicated in his cousin's treason. It is not likely that any serious suspicion fell on a man of his known loyalty, but he seems to have been told not to leave his houses without permission. Early in March he asked liberty to go to Bath and then to the Wells in Cheshire for the benefit of his gout. A month later he was starting on a 'last pilgrimage' in hope of ease. In May he was at Bath, having doubted the virtue of the Cheshire Wells, where friends had sought life, but found death, and meant to be back at Woodstock early in June. He wanted a post in Ireland for Captain Smith, a kinsman of his brother Richard, whom I cannot identify with certainty. If he was a Simon Smith, who married a Maria Hales, the connexion was very remote.<sup>2</sup> In July Lee sent Sir John Stanhope the promise of a horse from Beaconsfield, where he was wont to stop with his friend Richard Tredway on his way to London.<sup>3</sup> In August John Chamberlain visited him at Woodstock, and they 'had great sport, and skirmished as fast with our bowes as they do at Ostend with their peeces'.<sup>4</sup>

Meanwhile Sir Richard Lee had returned from his mission. After a cold voyage of two months he had reached Archangel on 30 July 1600 and there fell sick of an ague. He reported to Cecil by John Mericke, the agent of the Muscovy Company at Archangel, who also bore a letter from the Emperor.<sup>5</sup> An Austrian ambassador was on his way to pursue negotiations for a match, but it might very well come to nothing. The Emperor was on bad terms with the King of Denmark, who was also offering indignities to England by imposing tolls on merchants in the Baltic. 'I write not all', says Lee, 'what I hear of this King's blustering threats, specially after

<sup>1</sup> H. xi. 90.

<sup>2</sup> H. xi. 110, 156; xiv. 178; *Harl. Soc.* xlii. 59, 86.

<sup>3</sup> H. x. 306; xiv. 181.

<sup>4</sup> Chamberlain, 114.

<sup>5</sup> H. x. 275.







a slape drunck, where I leave him.’<sup>1</sup> In Russia itself he seems to have been well received, although a later ambassador; Sir Thomas Smythe, speaks of his reputation for painful standing on his priority in matters of etiquette.<sup>2</sup> By 28 May 1601 he had arrived at Reval, whence the Duke of Sweden was still making war on Poland for the possession of Livonia. Here, too, he won credit, and had the honour of standing godfather, as the Queen’s deputy, to a son of the Duke. By 28 June he was at Stade in Upper Germany, and by 25 July at Canterbury, whence he asked for an audience with the Queen.<sup>3</sup> And now Elizabeth found herself in a quandary. The Emperor of Muscovy had accepted her offer of an English match for his son, and the lady she had thought of, a daughter of Ferdinando, late Earl of Derby, was not available. She was 18 and the boy turned out to be only 13. They were ‘misgraffed in respect of years’; one may suspect that ‘the choice of friends’ was also adverse. An apologetic letter was drafted in the best Elizabethan manner.<sup>4</sup>

We have thought it our part by this letter to let you know how the case standeth, and to assure you that if we had any one of our blood (nay, of our own body) answerable to your expectation, we would think ourselves both honoured and strengthened by such a match. But as it hath pleased Almighty God so to dispose our mind as it could never give way to those affections which might have been the means to raise an issue of our own person—a matter whereof we have no cause for our own mind to be sorry, but only because we perceive how infinitely our people would have been comforted to have been assured to have been left to no other’s rule than such as should be derived from ourselves—we think it our part no longer to hold you in expectation.

And now Francis Cherry and John Mericke, who know the Muscovite temperament, took alarm. The same

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Hamlet*, 1. iv. 8.

<sup>2</sup> H. xi. 202, 204; Smythe, *Voyage and Entertainment* (1605), E. 1.

<sup>3</sup> H. xi. 207, 264; xii. 233; *S.P.D.* cclxxxi. 26.

<sup>4</sup> H. xi. 387.



thing had happened once before, in 1583, when Ivan the Terrible had asked for the hand of Lady Mary Hastings, the daughter of the Earl of Huntingdon. The lady had been reluctant and the death of the Emperor had put an end to the idea. If some alternative offer was not made now, the Muscovite would think himself injured, and commercial relations would be imperilled. There was not much time, since it was now September, and a messenger must go quickly before the freezing of the seas put an end to communications. Possibly the draft was modified. A year later the Queen wrote that she had now found 'a pure maiden, nobly descended by father and mother, adorned with graces and extraordinary gifts of nature, of convenient years between xj and xij', who was at the Emperor's service. Unfortunately, she does not name her. An embassy was promised for the following May, but by May 1603 the affections of her subjects were no longer at Elizabeth's disposal.<sup>1</sup> It was as well. Boris Godounof himself died a year or two later, probably from poison, the prospective bridegroom was murdered, and the crown of Muscovy returned to the house of Ivan the Terrible.

Sir Richard Lee had his own troubles to meet at home. The Muscovy company refused to finance the extension of his journey to Livonia, and as a tight hand was also kept upon the royal purse-strings, he was likely to be out of pocket.<sup>2</sup> Richard Perce, a musician formerly in the service of Sir William Knollys and then of the Earl of Nottingham, had gone with him, and without his privity had taken service with the Duke of Sweden. But he had proved lewd and of bad condition, and was now spreading evil reports of the Duke in England.<sup>3</sup> Before he left, Lee had been negotiating with the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury for the renewal of a lease of Great Chart in Kent, but they held out for an increased rent, and

<sup>1</sup> H. xi. 386, 393; xii. 397, 421, 425, 630.

<sup>2</sup> H. xii. 420; xvi. 74.

<sup>3</sup> H. xii. 69.







finally exasperated him by giving the lease to another.<sup>1</sup> He had to thank Cecil for staying some proceedings at assizes in Kent prejudicial to his ward, presumably his step-grandson, young James Hales, and himself.<sup>2</sup> He had tasted little of the favours of this world, he complains in 1604, and by 1605 his health had broken down.<sup>3</sup> In the years after his return he seems to have been in close touch with Sir Henry, from whose houses some of his letters are written. John Chamberlain describes the commencement at Oxford on 15 July 1602:<sup>4</sup>

Very famous for the exceeding assemblie of gentles, but specially for the great confluence of cut-purses, whereof ensued many losses and shrewde turnes, as first M<sup>r</sup> Bodley lost his clocke, Sir Richard Lea two jewells of 200 markes, which Sir Harry Lea and he meant to have bestowed on the bride, M<sup>r</sup> Tanfelds daughter.

It had been intended that the formal opening of the Bodleian should take place at this Commencement, but it was deferred until the following 8 November. The benefactions collected by Bodley were augmented by a gift of Russian and other manuscripts brought home by Richard Lee.<sup>5</sup>

Elizabeth Tanfield, the bride of 1602, was a grand-niece of Sir Henry Lee. His sister Katharine married Giles Symonds of Clay in Norfolk, and their daughter, also an Elizabeth, married Laurence Tanfield of a Northants family, a rising lawyer, who ultimately became Chief Baron of the Exchequer. He acquired the Hospital of St. John in Burford, Oxfordshire, and later the manors both of Burford and of Great Tew. Presumably through Lee's influence, he sat for New Woodstock in Parliaments from 1589 to 1601.<sup>6</sup> The Tanfields

<sup>1</sup> H. x. 164; *H.M.C.* ix (1), 122.

<sup>2</sup> H. xii. 69.

<sup>3</sup> H. xvi. 377; *Cecil Papers*, cxiii. 157.

<sup>4</sup> Chamberlain, 149.

<sup>5</sup> W. D. Macray, *Annals of Bodleian*, 27; G. W. Wheeler, *Letters of Bodley*, 17.

<sup>6</sup> *Harl. Soc.* xiii. 294; xxxii. 278; 2 *Gen.* ix. 22; Chamberlain, 143; R. H. Gretton, *Burford Records*, 268; *Official Return*.



have not left a good reputation behind them. Lady Tanfield was accused of taking bribes to influence her husband's judicial decisions. There were disputes with the borough of Burford and many complaints in 1624 from the tenants in Great Tew and elsewhere of oppression and illegal enclosure. Lady Tanfield was reported to have said that they were worthy to be ground to powder, and that she would play the devil among them. That is what, in local folk-lore, she and her husband do to this day. At Wilcote they are believed to have stolen the 'Poor's Plot' left by Sir William and Lady Willicote in the fifteenth century, and one day, as they passed the plot, the donors appeared in a chariot in the sky, crying 'Cast up, cast up'. But elsewhere it is the Tanfields who have the chariot. When the Windrush at Burford is dry to the third arch of the bridge they will appear flying over the tops of the houses. A similar prophecy is known at Eynsham, where it is related to a wicked man who once lived at Eynsham Hall, which did not exist before the eighteenth century.<sup>1</sup> The younger Elizabeth Tanfield was born in 1585 or 1586. She was precociously learned. Michael Drayton dedicated to her one of his *Heroical Epistles* in 1597, with praise of her speech in French and Italian and her wisdom and reading in her tender years. Her marriage in 1602 was to Henry Cary, the son of Sir Edward Cary of Berkhamstead in Herts, the Master of the Jewel House. He, too, was connected by marriage with Lee, and incidentally with Anne Vavasour, for his mother Lady Cary had been Katharine Knyvet, and her first husband was Henry Lord Paget, Lee's brother-in-law. Immediately after the marriage Henry Cary went on his travels, and Elizabeth was left with her tyrannical mother, to whom she had always to speak on her knees, sometimes 'for more than an hour together, though she was but an ill kneeler, and a worse

<sup>1</sup> Gretton, 54; *H.M.C.* iii. 31; W. J. Monk, *Burford*, 16, *Story of Burford*, 48; *Folk-Lore*, xl. 374.







riser'. She spent her whole time in reading, but was allowed no candles, and incurred a debt of £100 in buying them through servants. Her tragedy of *Mariam the Faire Queene of Jewry* was published in 1613. Henry Cary became Lord Falkland, and his son, by Elizabeth was the famous Lord Falkland of the Civil Wars.<sup>1</sup>

On 18 July 1602 Richard reported his brother as very ill at Ditchley.<sup>2</sup> But in September Mr. Alexander was with him there, surveying his stable, and they chose a horse to be sent to Cecil. It may have been the black horse which some months later Sir Henry advised Cecil to send back to Alexander for treatment, 'or he will come to nought'.<sup>3</sup> This equine expert was probably Robert Alexander of Tilehurst in Kent, whom Lee had been commending to Cecil since 1597.<sup>4</sup> He was a Groom of the Stable, and a tilter, as were his sons Henry and Sigismund after him. The family bore the alias of Zinzan and were of foreign origin. An earlier Robert, brought to England by Henry VIII, had been a pupil of Federico Grisone, a famous Neapolitan horse-master.<sup>5</sup> On 21 February 1603 Sir Henry sent Cecil a doe to shrove with, and took occasion to beg furtherance for his brother.<sup>6</sup> At some time in 1602 or early in 1603 he had his portrait in Garter robes painted, probably by Marcus Gheeraerts.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> R.S. *Lady Falkland* (1861); T. L. *Falklands* (1907); *Harl. Soc.* xxii. 134.

<sup>2</sup> H. xii. 233.

<sup>3</sup> H. xii. 380, 647.

<sup>4</sup> H. vii. 402; xi. 58, 156, 214, 282.

<sup>5</sup> *Archaeologia*, xii. 391; *Harl. Soc.* lvi. 320; Bullen, *Peele*, ii. 297; H. xi. 540; Winwood, i. 453; Birch, *James*, i. 92, 239, 248, 257, 358; Birch, *Henry*, 196, 524-6; Sackville-West, *Anne Clifford*, 10; Cripps-Day, *Tournament*, 135.

<sup>6</sup> H. xii. 647.

<sup>7</sup> Plate V.







SIR HENRY LEE, K.G.  
*Aetatis Suae 71, Anno Dom. 1602*  
*Ascribed to MARCUS GHEERAERTS*





## VIII

### THE OLD AGE OF A COURTIER

THE passing of his great mistress on 24 March 1603 brought to Lee some natural emotion, not unmingled with anxiety as to his own future. To Cecil he wrote, three days later<sup>1</sup>—

Since the calling from us of our most dread and gracious sovereign, I have at the last called back my grieved and wandering spirits, and have sent this messenger to you to acknowledge how much I have been ever beholden to you. I will never forget, nor you, I hope, that I am your faithful and assured friend, and now more ready to show my love and service than ever. If it will please you (lame as I am) to send me your advice or direction, I will frame myself to it as I am able.

But there was a new sovereign. Lee was to the fore when James reached London, and met him among others at Stamford Hill on 7 May, with a troop of sixty men, of whom thirty were on great horses. They wore chains of gold or yellow scarfs embroidered with the motto *Constantia et fide*. The King spoke very lovingly to the old knight, and passed through his troops, very well pleased. Lee attended the Garter installation at Windsor on 2 July.<sup>2</sup> The court spent most of September at Woodstock, and from here the King and Queen, with the French ambassador and a Dutch duke, went to visit Lee at a lodge three miles away, which was probably Lee's Rest.<sup>3</sup> In December Sir Henry received a 'free gift' from the crown of £200, with an annuity of the same amount to follow.<sup>4</sup> He took part as Master of the Armoury in the Coronation 'riding' from the Tower to Westminster on 15 March 1604, and returned to the scene of his earlier triumphs as judge of the Accession

<sup>1</sup> H. xv. 9.

<sup>3</sup> Lodge, iii. 26.

<sup>2</sup> Nichols, *James*, i. 113, 194.

<sup>4</sup> *S.P.D.* v. 14.



tilt on 24 March.<sup>1</sup> The court was at Woodstock again in September 1604 and in August 1605.<sup>2</sup> James's hunting with horse and hound was very different from Elizabeth's lady-like exercise with a bow from a stand in her park, and the memory of his exploits in the field has long been preserved at Ditchley by trophies of stags' heads, with incused tablets of brass beneath them, which thus describe the runs.<sup>3</sup>

August 24<sup>th</sup>, Saturday.

From Foxehole Coppice rouz'd Great Britain's King I fled,  
But what, In Kiddington Pond he overtoke me dead.

August 26<sup>th</sup>, Munday.

King James made me to run for Life from Dead man's Riding;  
I ran to Goreil Gate, where Death for me was bidding.

August 27<sup>th</sup>, Tuesday.

The King pursude me fast, from Grange Coppice flying,  
The King did hunt me living, the queenes Park had me dying.

Actually the tablets bear the date 1608. But there is no evidence that the progress of that year took James to Woodstock, and the day-dates agree with the calendar for 1605, but not with that for 1608.<sup>4</sup>

It was perhaps as a result of the King's gratification with his sport that, in the following November, Lee obtained permission to make a park at Ditchley. His licence authorized him to—

impale and hold in severalty certain woods and woodgrounds of his own, called Charlbury, Spillesbury, Taston, Fulwell and Ditchley woods in the county of Oxon and thereof to make a park for the feeding of deer and other beasts of game, and to have the right of free warren therein, so as it be not within any of his Majesty's Forest.<sup>5</sup>

It is possible that this stipulation was not strictly observed. In January 1610 an inquiry was on foot as to

<sup>1</sup> Nichols, i. 325; Arber, iii. 257 (misdated); Foley, *English Jesuits*, i. 59.

<sup>2</sup> *Eliz. Stage*, iv. 119, 120.

<sup>3</sup> Hearne, vi. 188; Dillon, 76.

<sup>4</sup> *Eliz. Stage*, iv. 123.

<sup>5</sup> *Privy Seal in Ditchley MSS.*





the crown rights in the forest of Wychwood, which James intended to confer upon Prince Henry. A number of exchequer bills were issued against gentry who were alleged to be withholding lands which belonged to it, and among these was Sir Henry. The parcels are minutely described. They included Abbots Wood and Spelsbury Wood and a number of coppices, but also Ditchley House and an assart or clearing which lay on both sides of Grimsditch. The matter was settled by a grant to Lee in July of his assarts and purprestures or enclosures, with a pardon for any encroachments. But he had to pay a fine of £20 and an increased rent.<sup>1</sup>

During the next two years we hear little of Lee as a courtier. He was absent from the Garter feast of 23 April 1606, probably through ill health. On the following 18 June a warrant was issued to him as Master of the Armoury to provide weapons for challenges and triumphs before the King.<sup>2</sup> But in September 1608 Queen Anne, whose ethical code was not of the strictest, did him and Anne Vavasour the courtesy of paying a visit to a little lodge which he had at a short distance from Ditchley. John Chamberlain describes it in a letter to Dudley Carleton.<sup>3</sup>

The Queen, before her going out of this County, dined with Sir Henry Lee at his *Little Rest*, and gave great countenance, and had long and large discourse with M<sup>rs</sup> Vavasor; and, within a day or two after, sent a very fair jewell valued above £100; which favour hath put such new life into the old man, to see his sweet-heart so graced, that he says he will have one fling more at the Court before he die; though he thought he had taken his leave this summer, when he went to present the Prince with an armour that stood him in £200, and within a year or two will serve his turn, neither in jest or earnest.

It was no doubt on this occasion that Lee wrote the

<sup>1</sup> *S.P.D. Eliz.* cclxxvi. 87 (misdated); *James*, cxci. 11; *Dillon Notes*, G., *ad fin.*, app. from *Signet Bill*.

<sup>2</sup> Nichols, *James*, iv. 1069; F. Devon, *Issues of Exchequer*, 40.

<sup>3</sup> *S.P.D.* xxxvi. 40; Nichols, *James*, ii. 208.



verses printed in an earlier chapter.<sup>1</sup> The armour given to Prince Henry was preserved in the Great Chamber at Greenwich in 1631.<sup>2</sup> But it is not the full-size armour now at Windsor, which was made by William Pickering shortly before Henry's death in 1612.<sup>3</sup> A Ditchley portrait of Henry at the age of 11 shows him, not in armour, but in the robes of the Bath. Lee, like others, made a cult of the hopeful heir. An undated letter from him is preserved among the *Harleian MSS.*<sup>4</sup>

Most Gracious prince,

As from y<sup>e</sup> first, I devoted my selfe to your service, so with my prayer, and with what els belongeth to my fortune, is, and shalbe continewallie attendinge your will. It is true, I sent you by this gentlman (your kynd servant) and my freind, a couple of y<sup>e</sup> best beagles I had, My traveyle and my keepers shalbe to make others as fitt for you, as we may. The fa burthen of my songe is to bestow y<sup>e</sup> remnant of my tyme all I may to please you. Your Highnes aptenes to horsemanship, and matters of armes is such, that a meane dyrektor may make you most perfect in that exercise, on whom my duty shall never fayle, when it shall please so greate, so devine, and so mightie a Prince to comaund me. In y<sup>e</sup> meane tyme (most gracious Lord) hold me in your good opinion, increase me in your favour, and protect me from envie, practice, and malice, so shall I end most happie (throughe your goodnes) and quiet, by y<sup>e</sup> holdinge of your favour.

There was still some vigour in the old man, if a fragment from the mutilated history of Hatfield Chase, written at the end of the seventeenth century by Abraham de la Pryme, may be trusted. In July 1609, he tells us, Prince Henry paid a visit to York. On the way he was met by Sir Robert Swift, the bowbearer of Hatfield, and Sir Henry Lee. They persuaded him to go to Hatfield, where he stayed at Lee's house. A great hunt was

<sup>1</sup> Cf. p. 143.

<sup>2</sup> *Archaeologia*, xxxvii. 487.

<sup>3</sup> *S.P.D.* lxxvii, p. 244; *The Times* (12 Jan. 1934).

<sup>4</sup> *Harl. MS.* 7008, f. 279.





arranged. The company embarked in a hundred boats. Some hundreds of deer were driven into water and pursued by 'this little Royal Navy' to a deep Thorn Meer, where men waded in, cut the throats of the fattest, and drew them by ropes to land. It does not seem to have been a very sporting event, but the method may have been traditional at Hatfield, as a similar hunt there is recorded in the days of Henry VIII. Lord Dillon notes against de la Pryme's account, 'This is not true'. I do not know why, unless he thought that Sir Henry had been confused with Robert Lee's bastard son Henry of Hatfield.<sup>1</sup> Early in 1610 presents of venison went to the Prince from Lee.<sup>2</sup> In August James was again at Woodstock, with his son, and a new trophy, to match that of 1605, was set up at Ditchley.<sup>3</sup>

August 22<sup>nd</sup>, Wednesday.

In Henly Knap to hunt me, King James; Prince Henry  
found me,  
Cornebury Parke River, to end their Hunting, drown'd me.

August 24<sup>th</sup>, Friday.

The King and Prince from Grange made me to make my  
Race,  
But Death neere the Queenes Parke gave me a resting place.

August 25<sup>th</sup>, Saturday.

From Foxehole driven, what could I doe, being lame; I fell  
Before the King and Prince, neere Rozamond her well.

But it is clear from more personal records that for the most part these Jacobean years were years of retirement for Lee. In 1604 a sum of £200 demanded of him in Bucks under a Privy Seal was unpaid, because he 'remained out of the sheare'.<sup>4</sup> There are still occasional letters to Robert Cecil, now Earl of Salisbury, whose cool head had made him the leading statesman under James.

<sup>1</sup> *Lansd. MS.* 897, f. 39; *V.H. Yorks.* i. 507; *L.P.* xvi. 533; *Dillon Notes*, G., *ad fin.*

<sup>2</sup> *S.P.D.* lvii. 87.

<sup>3</sup> Hearne, vi. 188; Dillon, 76.

<sup>4</sup> *Verney Papers* (Camd. Soc.), 280.



The last of these is on 3 April 1609. Lee had sent such fruits as a barren ground brings forth, not ordinary at that time, and would have sent again now, if he had more plenty, or more to be accounted on.<sup>1</sup> But more often he kept in touch with the minister through his personal followers. To Thomas Wilson, whom Salisbury had just made Keeper of the Records at Whitehall, he wrote on 11 July 1607, condoling with him on the loss of a certain fair lady, 'of a very kynd disposition, well spoken, if an enemy, it was only to her selfe; a thousand other might better have beene spared'.<sup>2</sup> I regret that I cannot identify the lady, who was not Wilson's wife. With Sir Michael Hicks, Salisbury's private secretary, Lee seems to have been on very friendly terms. Eight letters to him have been preserved.<sup>3</sup> Most of these belong to the years 1606-8. Lee sends Hicks venison, and is busy finding him a nag. Anne Vavasour, who is living with him, sends her love. By her 'louinge care & diligence I doe throughe gods goodness, continewe the longer'. There are many complaints of old age and failing health. In 1606 gout has taken possession of his joints. He has troubled Hicks with a bad hand in the past, and now his fingers are less at his command. In 1608 he is driven to employ an amanuensis. Already in 1601 he had apologized to Cecil for his 'scribbled fist', and that indeed it always was.<sup>4</sup> His coming to London is likely to be seldom. Will not Hicks pay him a visit at Ditchley, with his lady, 'whereof none would be more glad than M<sup>rs</sup> Vauasor'? They would see his preparation for this world and the world to come. If Hicks would meet him at his house nearest London, where he has building in hand, they could come from one house to another with the help of an alehouse, to Woodstock and Ditchley, and

<sup>1</sup> *Cecil Papers*, cxxvii. 18; cf. pp. 103-5.

<sup>2</sup> *S.P.D.* xxviii. 11; *Dillon Notes*, G. 272.

<sup>3</sup> *Lansd. MSS.* lxxxviii, f. 185; lxxxix, ff. 160, 191; xc, ff. 72, 74, 87, 95, 196.

<sup>4</sup> *H.* xi. 156.





so to 'my corner of resolution called Lee Rest'. If it is impossible, he will make 'an vnallowable journey' to see him and his wife and no others. He is disappointed, and sorry they should meet no more until he leaves the world. The letters are also much concerned with a debt to Hicks, a well-to-do man, who let out his money to his friends, at the interest, then customary, of 10 per cent. The loan to Lee was only a small one of £300 for three years, and parts of it had been repaid on his behalf by Henry Russell of Cirencester, his clothier, and his nephew Lee Symonds, who was evidently employed in his affairs. But for the rest he has to ask forbearance, and he may even want a further loan, since 'buylders seldome swymme in money'. In 1608 he is on his last labour, 'the mendinge of my house at Burstone'. But unfortunately he is out of hand by £1,200 rent, which will not come in until midsummer, 'when, if God will, I shall be able to do much more than I now can'.

Sir Michael Hicks was not the only creditor with whom Sir Henry's characteristically Elizabethan love for house-building had entangled him. There were several bonds for considerable sums outstanding at his death. One of these, for £800, was to Lady Susan Bouchier, whom he may have courted in his earlier years. From her he had been borrowing since 1578.<sup>1</sup> To some extent his landed property may have suffered. As heir to his brother Thomas he had joined with his brother Robert in selling the estate, once of Medmenham Abbey, in Fleetmarston, which Anthony Lee had bought.<sup>2</sup> Another 160 acres in Fleetmarston he had sold in 1580.<sup>3</sup> In 1598 he mortgaged his Charlbury coppices and ten acres in Blackgrove to Lee Symonds, but these he recovered.<sup>4</sup> A further sum he raised in 1607 by surrendering half his annuity from the crown to Sir John Brook.<sup>5</sup> No doubt the sheep-

<sup>1</sup> *Dillon Notes*, G., *ad. fn.*; cf. pp. 91, 234.

<sup>2</sup> *Bucks. Records*, iv. 190.

<sup>3</sup> *Dillon Notes*, G. 86, 97; W. 129.

<sup>4</sup> *Addl. Charter* 17355.

<sup>5</sup> *Dillon Notes*, G. 271.



farming was a resource. Many notes of wool sales are preserved. In 1598 he had 700 tods, from 4,904 fleeces, partly at Ditchley, but mostly at Quarrendon.<sup>1</sup> Much of the pasture in Bucks he appears to have leased to farmers, but it was not always free from mortgages or other burdens.<sup>2</sup> In 1662 the great Berryfield at Quarrendon was held at £800 a year, 'the tenant not complaining of his bargain'.<sup>3</sup> William Scott tells us that, when absent from the world, Lee built four goodly manors, besides renewing the chapel and raising the foundation of a hospital at Quarrendon.<sup>4</sup> It is not quite clear which the four manors were. One, the last built, was, as we have seen, at Burston.<sup>5</sup> Another was presumably Ditchley itself. A third may have been the house of Lelius at Wedon, which figures in Lee's will. But for the fourth we have to guess at either Quarrendon itself, or Hardwick, or Spelsbury, or possibly Lee's Rest at Charlbury. This was strictly a 'lodge', not a manor-house, but we know that it cost £5,000.<sup>6</sup> In any case there is little to show now for all Lee's prodigal expenditure. Ditchley was rebuilt in 1722. The house at Burston remained unfinished, and was demolished before 1818. Lelius was also rebuilt before 1818 and again in 1870; it is now called Lilies. There is a much altered seventeenth-century Manor Farm at Hardwick.<sup>7</sup> Quarrendon was partly pulled down before 1666, and partly in 1713. It is now only represented by a moated enclosure next the ruins of the chapel; some timber-work in the Church Farm may belong to it.<sup>8</sup> There was a Court House at Spelsbury before Lee's time, which was remembered by neighbours in 1718, and of which the site is traceable still.<sup>9</sup> Here, too, is a

<sup>1</sup> *Dillon Notes*, G. 221, 236, 240; W. 174.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, G. 100; W. 129; *Ditchley MSS.*

<sup>3</sup> Fuller, *Worthies* (ed. 1811), i. 133.

<sup>4</sup> App. G.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. p. 215.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. p. 239.

<sup>7</sup> *V.H. Bucks.* iii. 328, 363; *Gent. Mag.* lxxxviii (1), 116.

<sup>8</sup> *V.H. Bucks.* iv. 100; *Dillon Notes*, W. 187; cf. p. 237.

<sup>9</sup> *Par. Collections* (Oxf. Rec. Soc.), 276.







Manor Farm, with signs of antiquity. Lee's Rest is not known to have been inhabited after 1621. The windows were closed in 1720 and soon after the house was pulled down.<sup>1</sup> A plan of it is among the Ditchley MSS., and a farm-house preserves its name.

Lee was under medical attendance by the court physician Sir William Paddy in 1607, and fate has preserved some of the prescriptions written for him.<sup>2</sup> In 1608 he had resolved to discontinue his attendance at court. This no doubt accounts for his conveyance in that year to Henry, Lord Mordaunt, of the lease of his lodgings in the Savoy, with the exception of three rooms occupied at a rent of £1 by his brother Sir Richard.<sup>3</sup> An inventory throws an interesting light on the domestic arrangements of a well-to-do Elizabethan courtier. Lee had a hall next the water stairs, with a kitchen beside it, and half of a brick-walled garden at the door. Over the hall was a dining-chamber, from which a long gallery, overlooking the Thames and decked with Italian hangings, led to a horse-chamber over 'the sisters' kitchen', of which also Lee had the occasional use, in common with other tenants, for washing and water. The principal chamber was an Orange Chamber, half hanged with Italian hangings, and containing a bedstead with a valance, tester, curtains, and coverlet of orange. Next this was a little room wherein Lee's saddles were usually set. A brushing-chamber had within it a little room called 'the whole'. A bath-chamber contained several tubs, one of which was hanged with painted cloths, and by it was a hothouse. Some half a dozen other chambers included a guest-chamber and a trap-door chamber which held a bedstead with painted hangings. There was right of ingress, both by the watergate of the hospital and through its outer gates and court on the Strand, and a right to the use of the leads over the gallery.

<sup>1</sup> *Dillon Notes*, G. 178.

<sup>2</sup> *Bodl. Rawlinson MS. A. 369*, f. 74.

<sup>3</sup> *Walford's Antiquarian*, viii. 119.



Lee must have been comfortable enough, even when he had to lodge the troublesome Thomas. Probably the lodging was already in part dismantled by 1608. The notebook kept by Lee Symonds records that in 1605 he gave some saddles, bits, and footcloths, of which he had the charge there, to Bennet Wilson for removal to Ditchley. At the same time he sent some arms to William the armourer, presumably William Pickering, and in 1603 a 'tromp for leve' to Mr. Jacobe 'of my master his armoure made at Greenwich'.<sup>1</sup>

Lee's will and the inquiries taken by the royal escheators show that he was still a rich man, in lands if not in ready cash, at the time of his death.<sup>2</sup> In Buckinghamshire he had six manors. Of the crown he held Quarrendon, which was worth £66 13s. 4d., Burston, worth £40, and Fleetmarston, with Little or Wretched Marston, worth £5. Of Lord Mordaunt he held Hardwick and Wedon, together worth £20, at a rent of £1 3s. 6d. Blackgrove was in part held of the crown, and worth £20, and in part of unknown tenure. All these had come down to Lee from his grandfather Robert, but in Robert's day, and in Anthony's, Little Marston was attached to Quarrendon, and Blackgrove, which lay partly in Fleetmarston, was not treated as a distinct manor. The annual values given are no doubt those of the manorial rights. But there were also many freehold parcels appurtenant to the manors, some of which lay afield in neighbouring townships. The total capital value of the Bucks estates was put for the purposes of a fine in the Court of Common Pleas at £5,600, but the figures in such fines are often exaggerated. Anthony Lee had settled the pasture of Further Upping in Quarrendon on his brother Benedict's wife, and the escheator's jury were not certain whether it went with the manor. In fact Benedict's widow, now Margaret Scott, still held it.<sup>3</sup> The

<sup>1</sup> *Dillon Notes*, W. 174.

<sup>2</sup> 2 *Gen.* ix. 18 (will); xiii. 29 (i.p.ms.).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. p. 31.







advowsons of Fleetmarston and Hardwick were appendant to the manors. Lee also held a lease of the second manor in Wedon, known as Russells, which belonged to New College, Oxford.<sup>1</sup> The land held by Sir Henry's great-grandfather Richard in the principal manor of Aylesbury seems later to have been treated as a parcel of Quarrendon. But Thomas Lee had a lease from the Dean and Chapter of Lincoln of the advowson of Aylesbury Church.<sup>2</sup> And this, according to Sir Henry's will, passed to him through his servant Bennet Wilson. He is said to have founded the existing Grammar School at Aylesbury and given it a small endowment.<sup>3</sup> A lease of the tithes of Quarrendon given by the same Dean and Chapter to Sir Anthony Lee had probably expired.<sup>4</sup> But the manor of Quarrendon itself had caused some trouble towards the end of Elizabeth's reign. Possibly the Exchequer officers had renewed the old claim made in Sir Anthony's time that the crown grant under which it was held was invalid.<sup>5</sup> Or possibly the reserved rent was in arrear. Sir Henry drew up a petition and made an appeal for help to Robert Cecil, who obtained an order from the Queen that the Lord Treasurer, with the Lord Chief Justice and the Attorney-General, should determine the matter.<sup>6</sup> The result was in Lee's favour, and on 10 June 1602 he received a patent for a new grant of Quarrendon, which acquitted him of any rents due under that to his grandfather, and provided for its own effectiveness at law.<sup>7</sup> Sir Walter Raleigh, pleading for a cause of his own, wrote—<sup>8</sup>

The Queen may take advantage of the acts of her awncestors; but neather prince nor private man denieth hyme sealf. Her

<sup>1</sup> Cf. p. 12.

<sup>2</sup> C. W. Foster, *Lincs. Episcopal Records*, 46, 268.

<sup>3</sup> *Charities Comm. Report*, xxvi (1833), 36; *Chancery Proc. Eliz. ii.* 160; R. Gibbs, *Aylesbury*, 476; *V.H. Bucks.* ii. 215.

<sup>4</sup> *Bucks. Records*, iv. 190.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. p. 22.

<sup>6</sup> *Bucks. Records*, iv. 191; H. xii. 58.

<sup>7</sup> *P. Roll*, 44 Eliz., p. 4, m. 22.

<sup>8</sup> H. xii. 559; E. Edwards, *Raleigh*, ii. 257.



Majesty used this grace to Sir Henry Leg for £400 lande, and yet not of her Majesties gift.

Lee was again alarmed for his fee-farm at Quarrendon, when James came, but apparently without reason.<sup>1</sup>

In Oxfordshire Sir Henry had the manor of Spelsbury, held of the crown at a rent of £5, and that of Ditchley, held of Spelsbury, also at £5. To these various freeholds were appurtenant. Others were held on independent tenures from the crown at £20, and ten coppices in Charlbury were similarly held at £3 6s. 8d. These rentals do not, of course, represent anything like the beneficial value of the properties. This was put, for all but some freehold closes, at £5,600 in a fine of 1609, exactly the same amount as that ascribed to those in Bucks. There were also some leases. From Sir William Pope Lee had that of land in Spelsbury and Enstone, presumably belonging to the Pope manor of Enstone. From St. John's College, Oxford, he had that of the manor of Charlbury. A lease is dated in 1592.<sup>2</sup> But Lee may have held before that, since in 1588 he was a party to an agreement between the college and the tenants of Charlbury, for the settlement of manorial customs. This was broken in 1605 by the tenants, who asserted a right of common in Lee's woods, from which it had debarred them. A petition and counterpetition went to the King, who directed one of the Masters of Requests, Sir Roger Wilbraham, to take the opinion of a commission of local justices. The President of St. John's and Lee's old enemy and friend George Whitton gave evidence. But the tenants failed to put in an appearance, and as they clearly had no case, Wilbraham wrote that the King would be no further troubled with their complaints.<sup>3</sup> Lee had also acquired in 1592 the advowson of Charlbury, but this he transferred to his brother Cromwell, and with him to John Hawley of Gloucester Hall in 1600.

<sup>1</sup> H. xvi. 355.

<sup>2</sup> Jordan, 91, 116.

<sup>3</sup> *Ditchley MSS.*; *Dillon Notes*, G. 263.





Other bits of ecclesiastical property in Oxfordshire had passed through his hands. In 1580 he took a lease of the advowson of Swalcliffe from New College, with licence to alienate it.<sup>1</sup> For some time he had another from Christ Church of the rectory of Spelsbury. But this had expired in 1599, and the college had granted the reversion to a brother of one of their own prebendaries, Dr. John Kennall, who offered to sell it to Lee, but could not get his price, and passed it to a brother of William James, Dean of Durham, for the use of the Dean's sons. Lee characteristically attempted to bring the Queen's influence to bear through Cecil, and was supported by Richard Edes, also of Christ Church, who assured Cecil that Dr. Kennall, before his death in 1591, had promised a conveyance to Lee. The Dean also put his case before the minister, and it is clear that in the upshot Lee failed to recover the rectory.<sup>2</sup> At Lee's death he had the advowson of Wootton from the crown at a rent of 10s. The possession of a rectory of course carried the right to tithes, but advowsons could be of little value to Lee except for the advancement of the chaplains whom, out of the streak of piety which was an element in his make-up, he was accustomed to maintain. John Aubrey is less charitable. To Thomas Johnes Lee gave, first the living of Fleetmarston in 1608, and then that of Wootton in 1609.<sup>3</sup> Says Aubrey—

He was never married, but kept woemen to reade to him when he was a bed. One of his readers was parson Jones his wife of Wotton. I have heard his daughter (who had no more witt) glory what a brave reader her mother was and how Sir Harry's worship much delighted to heare her.

Mrs. Johnes had been Lee's dairymaid. Her husband acted as his steward and was known in the household as Parson Chaff and Parson Bluecoat.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Dillon Notes*, W. 129; *Ditchley MSS.*

<sup>2</sup> *H.* ix. 234.

<sup>3</sup> *Brief Lives*, ii. 31; *Dillon Notes*, G. 281.

<sup>4</sup> *Dillon Notes*, W. 182.



So being seised, Lee had to look for an heir. He was the last legitimate member of his direct line. Anne Vavasour had given him a bastard, probably in the earlier days of his association with her, since Thomas Vavasour *alias* Freeman was old enough to be appointed Yeoman of the Armoury in 1607–8.<sup>1</sup> His next brother, Robert, had died in 1597–8, leaving a legacy of hangings at Quarrendon to 'Mistress Fynch'.<sup>2</sup> But Robert's son Henry Lee *alias* Waring was also a bastard. He appears in the will of Lee Symonds in 1605 as Mr. Henry Lee of the North.<sup>3</sup> He married Elizabeth Fletcher of Campsall, and his family is traceable in Yorkshire for two generations. A manuscript pedigree gives Robert also a legitimate son Henry by a second marriage. But this is clearly an error. The descendants named are those of Henry Waring.<sup>4</sup> There can have been no legitimate son. Had there been, he or his successor would have been Sir Henry's heir in common law. But this, according to the inquisitions, was Henry Lee Rainsford, a grandson of Robert, through a daughter, variously called in pedigrees Dorothy and Barbara, who married Edward Rainsford of Great Tew in Oxfordshire.<sup>5</sup>

Thomas Lee, who was of Wedon, had died intestate in 1573, and Sir Henry administered his estate.<sup>6</sup> The youngest brother, Cromwell, had died in December 1601. Sir Henry, to whom in any case the manor of Spelsbury, which Cromwell nominally held, belonged, was his heir-at-law.<sup>7</sup> What little is known of his life is largely due to Anthony Wood.<sup>8</sup> He had been a traveller in Italy, and compiled part of an Italian dictionary, the manuscript of which is at St. John's College, Oxford. From here he matriculated in 1572, but took no degree. He had in-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. pp. 129, 241.

<sup>2</sup> 2 Gen. ix. 21.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 24.

<sup>4</sup> *Harl. MS.* 4630, f. 356; *Addl. MS.* 24445, f. 35<sup>v</sup>; J. Foster, *Vis. Yorks.* 306; J. Hunter, *South Yorks.* i. 156, 176; J. Tomlinson, *Hatfield Chace*, 160.

<sup>5</sup> *Harl. Soc.* v. 165.

<sup>6</sup> 2 Gen. ix. 21; xiii. 232.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* ix. 22 (will); xii. 192 (i.p.m.).

<sup>8</sup> *Athenae*, i. 715.





terests at Hook Norton and at Cutteslowe in Oxfordshire, and was a justice of peace of no very good repute for the county.<sup>1</sup> But he appears to have lived mainly in Oxford itself. In 1590 he had a licence from the Vice-Chancellor to eat meat in Lent, and at the time of his death was of Holywell.<sup>2</sup> More than one Oxford epigram describes his morals in the grossest terms.<sup>3</sup> He married Mary, daughter of Sir John Harcourt and widow of Richard Taverner of Wood Eaton, once Clerk of the Signet to Edward VI, who died in 1575.<sup>4</sup> By this earlier marriage she was Anthony Wood's grandmother. By her Cromwell seems to have had no children. If it is the case, as stated by a writer in *Notes and Queries*, that certain Lees of Barna in Tipperary claimed descent from him, it must have been through an illegitimate Robert, afterwards of New Woodstock, whom he apparently had by one Joan Hopkins *alias* Hatton. In his will Cromwell calls her his servant, leaves to her some milch kine and household stuff at Cutteslowe, to her daughter Alice £10 at marriage, and to his base son Robert his leases from Merton College and his furniture. Joan and Robert are his residuary legatees. Thomas Aylwin or Ayleward of Eversley, who witnessed the will, afterwards married Joan.<sup>5</sup> Cromwell has also been regarded as the father of one John Lee, a Fellow of St. John's, who took his M.A. degree in 1591 and died in 1609, leaving a mother Anne, a brother Francis, and a sister married to one Tote. Some connexion with Sir Henry Lee's family is suggested by the fact that John Lee held the livings of Fleetmarston and Wootton before Thomas Johnes.<sup>6</sup> But he, too, cannot have been a legitimate son of Cromwell, since

<sup>1</sup> *Addl. MS.* 23212, f. 197; *S.P.D.* clxx. 92; cclv. 46; Dasent, xiii. 429, 434; cf. pp. 61, 176.

<sup>2</sup> *H.M.C.* v. 368.

<sup>3</sup> Wood, *ut supra*; *Inner Temple Petyt MS.* 538.

<sup>4</sup> *D.N.B.*; E. W. Harcourt, *Harcourt Papers*, i. 79.

<sup>5</sup> 3 *N.Q.* i. 310, 379, 399; 2 *Gen.* x. 76.

<sup>6</sup> 2 *Gen.* xi. 28; Wood, *Athenae*, i. 327.



if so, Sir Henry would not have been Cromwell's heir-at-law.

Sir Henry's own illegitimate brothers had also predeceased him. Russell had a legacy from his father of the remainder of a lease of Uphaven. If this is Further Upping, he did not live to enjoy it, for he died in 1569.<sup>1</sup> Sir Richard, who sat for Woodstock in Parliament from 1604 onwards, died on 22 December 1608, desiring to be buried near his mother at Hardwick.<sup>2</sup> His latter days appear to have been clouded. He was believed at Canterbury to be an outlaw.<sup>3</sup> His will directs legacies to his nephew Samuel Hales and his step-son John Croker, 'from whose houses I have had my last means to live and nothing but hindred from my own friends'. Nevertheless, bonds due at Sir Henry's death included one of £400 for his brother. Richard's land became an escheat to the crown, and John Croker, with James Hales, Richard's step-grandson, petitioned the crown to confirm a purchase which they had made of part of it.<sup>4</sup> To his niece Lady Cary he bequeathed a cup of agate and another of ivory trimmed with silver. But the most interesting item of the will is a legacy to the Bodleian of a gown given him by the Emperor of Muscovy. To this attaches a long tale.<sup>5</sup> The University recorded the gift on 27 October 1609. It was a *toga ex lana agni Tartarici ζωοφύτου, magni quidem valoris*. But there was much delay before it was actually received. The King wanted to see it, and Sir Thomas Bodley wrote in 1612 that he was still awaiting a summons to court for the purpose. Bodley died in 1613, and at the end of 1614 the Curators of the Bodleian were still pressing his executors

<sup>1</sup> 2 Gen. viii. 231, 232; cf. p. 31.

<sup>2</sup> 2 Gen. viii. 232; xiii. 232; *Dillon Notes; Official Return*.

<sup>3</sup> *H.M.C.* ix (1), 161.

<sup>4</sup> *S.P.D.* lxvii. 136; *Dillon Notes*, W. 47 seqq.

<sup>5</sup> W. D. Macray, *Annals of Bodleian*<sup>2</sup>, 51, 129, 131, 431; G. W. Wheeler, *Letters of Bodley*, 224; C. E. Mallet, *Hist. Univ. Oxford*, ii. 435; H. Lee, *Vegetable Lamb of Tartary* (1887).







for the gown. It was to be kept in a special chest of sweet-scented wood and only seen in the presence of the Vice-Chancellor or his deputy, who would hold the key. At last, on 2 December 1615, the precious object arrived. In 1624 it was visited by one Edward Smythe. He was a Middle Temple lawyer, of an Abingdon family, and brother to Sir Thomas Smythe or Smith, formerly Clerk of the Privy Council and a Master of Requests. His wife Katharine was near akin to Richard Lee, but I cannot trace the exact connexion. Smythe found the gown 'in Sir Thos. Bodley's studie or closet, without any expression made of the raritie or worth of this garment'; and as he had heard its history from Sir Richard himself, he thought it desirable to write it down. It was no ordinary lamb-skin gown. Lee had told how in Tartary:

There did some yeres growe out of the ground certaine liuinge creatures in the shape of lambes, bearinge wooll vppon them, very like to the lambes of England, in this manner; viz. a stalke like the stalke of an hartichocke did growe vp out of the ground, and vppon the toppe thereof a budd, which by degrees did growe into the shape of a lambe, and became a liuinge creature, resting vppon the stalke by the nauell; and as soone as it did come to life, it would eate of the grasse growinge round about it, and when it had eaten vp the grasse within its reach it would die. And then the people of the cuntry as they finde these lambes doe flea of their skins, which they preserue and keepe, esteeminge them to bee of excellent vse and vertue, especially against the plague and other noysome diseases of those cuntries.

Lee's cloak had belonged to the Emperor, who had given it him on his departure, in return for a pestle and mortar made of a great agate, which Lee had given to him through his physician. On his way back the Duke of Sweden, who had long coveted it, attempted in vain to buy it from him, but he brought it back with him to England. Most of his furs and other rarities had passed into Elizabeth's hands, but as she never gave him the



promised recompense, he had concealed the cloak from her during her lifetime, and left it to the Bodleian. Here the cloak was seen by some foreign visitors in 1630 or 1631. Repairs of it are recorded in the library accounts for 1634 and 1644, and in 1643 a painter was paid 'for drawing to life the picture of the Tartar lambe out of Duret's book'.<sup>1</sup> Such a picture is now in the Ashmolean. But, oddly enough, another 'coat lyned with *Agnus Scythicus*' was in the collection of John Tradescant at Lambeth in 1656, and may have come with it to Oxford through Ashmole in 1677. Nothing further is known of Lee's coat, unless it is to be identified with a 'Joseph's coat', which was mended in 1662 and was shown to visitors in the following year. 'Dans un cabinet', says a sceptical Frenchman, 'on nous montra une robe de peau de diverses couleurs, qui les oblige à dire que c'est celle de Joseph'. The myth of the vegetable Lamb of Scythia or Tartary, also called the Barometz from a Tartar word for lamb, was well known in the Middle Ages. The version of it given by Smythe is said to go back to a Latin *Talmud* of the fifth century. But there was another, which is found for example in the fourteenth-century *Travels* ascribed to Sir John Mandeville, and was probably taken by the compiler of these from the narrative of Friar Odoricus of Pordenone. According to this the lambs were not rooted to the ground, but were disclosed full-grown by the ripening seed-pods of a native tree. And these variants have given rise to two competing explanations of the myth. One traces it to certain quaint toys made by the Chinese from the rhizomes and frond-stems of tree-ferns, one of which is now known to botanists as the *Dicksonia Barometz*; the other to the pods of the cotton-plant. It is true that neither the tree-fern nor the cotton-plant grows in Russian Tartary, but it is suggested that Scythia is a wide enough term in classical use to cover part of

<sup>1</sup> C. Duret, *Hist. Admirable des Plantes* (1605).







northern India, and one scientist tells us that the Scythians who, according to Herodotus, described snow as feathers, 'would probably describe the white wool of the cotton-pod as "tree-lamb's wool", the produce of a "lamb-plant" or "plant-lamb" '.

In 1583 Sir Henry had converted his fee entail of the Bucks manors into a fee simple, which enabled him to dispose of them as he thought fit, by a fictitious action of recovery in the Court of Common Pleas, with his nephew William Cooke, John Chamberlain, Sir George Throckmorton, and Richard Tredway of Beaconsfield as his nominees. In 1603, after the regrant of Quarrendon, he had again secured himself by a second recovery, with the help now of Bennet Wilson, Richard Nash of Old Woodstock, Lawrence Tanfield, and Tredway.<sup>1</sup> Probably he did the same with Spelsbury. Ditchley would follow his will.<sup>2</sup> And when the time came, he did not allow the estates to pass to his heir-at-law. We do not know why; possibly he wished for an heir of his own name. As to his choice, John Aubrey has a curious story.<sup>3</sup>

This Sir Henry Lee's nephew and heire (whom I remember very well; he often came to Sir John Danvers') was called *Whip-and-away*. The occasion of it was thus:—this old hero declining in his strength by age and so not being able to be a righter of his owne wronges as heretofore—

Labitur occiduae per iter declive senectae.  
Subruit haec aevi demoliturque prioris  
Robora. Fletque Milo senior cum spectat inanes  
Illos, qui fuerant solidorum more tororum  
Herculeis similes, fluidos pendere lacertos.

(OVID, *Metamorph.*, lib. xv, fab. 3)—

some person of quality had affronted him. So he spake to Sir Henry Lee his heire to lie in wayte for him about the Bell Inne in the Strand with halfe a dozen or more lustie fellowes

<sup>1</sup> *Recovery Rolls*, 25 Eliz. Easter, m. 93; 1 Jac. I, Trinity, m. 21.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. p. 55.

<sup>3</sup> *Brief Lives*, ii. 30.



at his back and as the partie passed along to give him a good blow with his cane and *whip and away*, the tall fellowes should finish the revenge. Whether 'twere nicety of conscience or cowardice, but Sir Henry the younger absolutely refused it. For which he was disinherited, and <Sir Henry the elder> settled his whole estate upon a keeper's son of Whitchwood-forest of his owne name, a one-cied young man, no kinne to him, from whom the earle of Lichfield now is descended, as also the lady Norris and lady Wharton.

Aubrey is not always a reliable chronicler. It is not true that the substituted heir was of no kin to Sir Henry. But the main story came from Whip-and-away himself, and to some extent it can be corroborated. Sir Henry did make more than one settlement of his lands. We have seen that Ditchley was conveyed in 1593 to feoffees for the uses of his will.<sup>1</sup> A conveyance of 14 June 1604 to Sir Laurence Tanfield and Sir George Throckmorton of Fulbrook covered all the Bucks and Oxfordshire estates, and was for uses expressed in an indenture of the previous day, which is not preserved.<sup>2</sup> It was replaced by another of similar character on 6 September 1604, in which the feoffees were Tanfield and Richard Gosnold of Beaconsfield, who was Richard Tredway's son-in-law.<sup>3</sup> But this again was superseded, for we learn from the inquisition taken after Lee's death that the lands actually passed under conveyances, by way of fines in the Court of Common Pleas, to Jerome Nash and Richard Gosnold, on 30 September 1609 and 24 September 1610.<sup>4</sup> The last dealt with the Wychwood closes challenged by the Exchequer, which explains the delay. The uses were again expressed in indentures. They were for Sir Henry himself and the heirs of his body, with remainders successively to Henry Lee, son and heir of Sir Robert Lee of Hardwick, and his heirs; to his younger brothers George, Robert, and Thomas and their heirs; to the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. p. 55.

<sup>2</sup> Bodl. MS. Top. Bucks. c. 1, f. 238.

<sup>3</sup> Ditchley MSS.; Harl. Soc. lviii. 65; V.H. Bucks. iii. 309.

<sup>4</sup> 2 Gen. xiii. 29; Ditchley MSS.





heirs of Robert Lee of Binfield; and to John Lee of Lachford and his heirs. It is clear, however, from later records, that the estate so disposed of was burdened with a considerable jointure already settled upon Anne Vavasour for sixty years or the term of her life, which included the house of Lee's Rest and some land at Spelsbury.<sup>1</sup> To find his heirs Sir Henry had gone far back into his ancestry. Sir Robert was the eldest son of his great-uncle, Benedict of Hulcott. The descent of Robert of Binfield is not quite clear, but I think it was from his great-great-uncle, John the brother of Richard. John of Lachford was the grandson of another great-uncle, Roger of Pitstone. He was not the direct representative of that line, but his surviving elder brother, also a Roger, was a Jesuit. As Sir Henry Lee died without heirs of his body, his actual successor was Henry of the Hulcott line, who was made a baronet in 1611.<sup>2</sup> Through his descendants, who became Earls of Lichfield in 1674, the estates passed ultimately by a marriage to the Dillons in 1776. Aubrey tells us that Sir Henry 'ordered that all his family should be christned *Harry's*'. His direct successors did in fact all bear the name Henry, although it was sometimes preceded by another.<sup>3</sup>

Who then was the rejected Whip-and-away? Aubrey, whose biographical jotting dates from about 1681, knew him personally, and survived him, since he also records that he 'dyed a batchelor, sine prole'.<sup>4</sup> He may safely be identified with a Henry Lee who died on 9 October 1657 in the seventy-second year of his age, and whose monument at Tortworth in Gloucestershire, the seat of Viscount Downe, describes him as *Eques auratus Henrici Lea Garterii ordinis equitis de Ditchley in com. Oxon. consanguineus et haeres designatus*.<sup>5</sup> And I think it is clear that he was the son of Sir Henry's half-cousin, Thomas Lee, the traitor.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. pp. 239, 243.

<sup>2</sup> His effigy (Corbett, *Spelsbury*, 142) suggests the loss of an eye.

<sup>3</sup> *Brief Lives*, ii. 32.    <sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 31.    <sup>5</sup> R. Bigland, *Gloucestershire*, Suppl.



Henry Lee, of Kildare, aged 14, matriculated from St. John's College, Oxford, on 14 May 1602.<sup>1</sup> This does not quite agree with the inscription on the monument, but some uncertainty as to the precise years of an old bachelor dying among strangers may well have existed. Henry was old enough to be commended by his father as a servant for Essex in 1600.<sup>2</sup> After the execution of Thomas there was naturally a scramble for what little property the poor wretch had left in Ireland. Lee had been bargaining at the time of his death with Henry Malby, son of Sir Nicholas Malby, for some lands at Annaly and Painstown, apparently in Longford, which he meant to exchange with Captain Edward Fitzgerald for a better title to Castle Reban. Malby asked to have the papers back, and the Privy Council sent for them to Sir Henry, who seems, however, to have completed the purchase.<sup>3</sup> Reban itself and the Baltinglas lands held by Lee were of course forfeit to the crown for high treason. Grants were begged by Captain Fitzgerald, by Sir George Cary of Cockington, the Treasurer at War in Ireland, and by William Eustace, Lee's stepson, who asserted that, since the death of Viscount Baltinglas, he was the head of his house. These applicants do not appear to have been successful.<sup>4</sup> Lord Mountjoy, the Deputy, had been instructed to put Castle Reban into the custody of Sir Richard Wingfield, the Marshal of the army, and in so doing he gave Wingfield the promise of a twenty-one years' lease. This grant, however, the Queen stayed, although Sir Geoffrey Fenton, the Secretary in Ireland, protested on Wingfield's behalf that it would be dangerous to let the castle pass into the hands of the Irish, and described Lee's wife as a person of no virtue to cross a servitor who daily risked his life for the Queen.<sup>5</sup> A

<sup>1</sup> Clark, *Register*, ii (2), 257.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. p. 198.

<sup>3</sup> H. xiv. 266; Dasent, xxxi. 395.

<sup>4</sup> Dasent, xxxi. 191; *S.P.I.* ccviii (1), 89; (1601-3), p. 35; H. xi. 142, 251; xiv. 173.

<sup>5</sup> *S.P.I.* ccviii (1), 76; (2), 4; (1601-3), p. 4.







rival claim was that of the Baron of Reban, Walter Fitzgerald or St. Michael, from whom Lee had acquired it. He set forth his wrongs in detail. Lee had consistently evaded payment of the price. Sometimes he swore to keep the land, as in fact he did, by stronghold as long as he lived, and to leave a curse upon his son if he did not the like after him. Sometimes, to stop the mouths of the people in the country, he offered to give St. Michael the maintenance of a gentleman with him in the house. This offer St. Michael had refused. Driven into poverty, he served in the Queen's wars, but could never rise higher than lieutenant. At last he was enforced into action, never meaning to become a rebel, but only to do Lee all the harm he could on his own land. He lived by spoiling it, would have killed him if he could, but he admits that soon after he was 'out', and came sometimes into the rebels' companies.<sup>1</sup> The precise motives which drove an Irishman into rebellion were not likely to be too closely weighed at Westminster, and St. Michael's suit was countered by Sir Richard and Sir Henry Lee with a plea for the rights of 'some poor innocents, the children of an unhappy father'.<sup>2</sup> Elizabeth, however, made no disposition of the lands during her lifetime. When James came, he saw no reason for continuing a *vendetta* against his predecessor's enemies. He took the Earl of Essex's son into his favour, confirmed a transfer which Thomas had made of some part of his lands to Sir Henry Harington, and granted his leases, goods, and chattels to John Coventry for the relief and education of his wife and children and the payment of his debts.<sup>3</sup> This did not cover Reban, the fee-farm of which the Lord Deputy was directed on 29 May 1607 to pass to Robert Carr, the King's servant, who was now on his way to become a royal favourite. Carr, however, must

<sup>1</sup> H. xii. 433, 578.

<sup>2</sup> H. xii. 511.

<sup>3</sup> *Cal. Irish P. Rolls* (Jac. I), 85; J. D'Alton, *Irish Army List*, ii. 444; *S.P.I.* (1603-6), p. 77.



have surrendered his claim, no doubt for some appropriate consideration, since on 19 May 1608 the Lord Deputy wrote to Cecil that 'Mr Ley' had brought letters from the Council table, requesting delivery of the house of Reban and the lands enjoyed by his father Captain Ley before his attainder and that performance had been made accordingly.<sup>1</sup> The other 'innocent' was Mrs. Margaret Lee, to whom Lee Symonds left a legacy as his cousin on 20 January 1605.<sup>2</sup> She married Sir Charles Manners, son of Thomas Manners and grandson of the first Earl of Rutland, probably in 1608, when Sir Henry settled upon her an annuity of £200 and the Longford land which he had bought of Malby. To this settlement young Henry Lee was a party.<sup>3</sup> In 1615 he received a pension of £100 from the King, charged upon the army cheques in Ireland, in consideration of his father's services there, and to this a second pension of 5s. a day seems to have been added later.<sup>4</sup> On 19 May 1618 he was knighted in Ireland.<sup>5</sup> In 1625 he served as a captain in the disastrous expedition to Cadiz, and by February 1627 had long been under restraint for championing his fellow captains in their demands for arrears of pay. He was released but deprived of his company.<sup>6</sup> He is a little difficult to distinguish from another Sir Henry Lee or Leigh, who was also a pensioner. This was a grand-nephew of Sir Thomas Leigh of Nostel in Yorkshire and a cousin of Lord Mountjoy.<sup>7</sup> He had a property at Calder in Yorkshire, and was long employed on the Border as steward of the baronry of Burgh at Rockcliffe Castle. In 1594 he claimed to have spent his patrimony in the Queen's service, and was granted a pension of

<sup>1</sup> *S.P.I.* (1606-8), pp. 192, 206, 221, 721.

<sup>2</sup> 2 *Gen.* ix. 24.

<sup>3</sup> *Bucks. Records*, iv. 189; *Dillon Notes*, W. 32.

<sup>4</sup> *S.P.I.* (1615-25) pp. 160, 1119, 1330; *Irish Patents* (R.O.), lxxxviii. 49; lxxxix. 50; cxxi. 40.

<sup>5</sup> *Carew MSS.* v. 383.

<sup>6</sup> *S.P.D.* (Car. I), lv. 45; lvi. 20; lviii. 86; ccxlv. 683; *S.P.I.* (Car. I), Add., p. 65.

<sup>7</sup> J. Hunter, *Doncaster*, ii. 210; J. Denton, *Cumberland Families* (*Cumb. and Westm. Arch. Soc.*), 28.







£40. Perhaps he found this inadequate, for in 1600 he was engaged in negotiations, of a more or less treasonable character, between Essex in England, Mountjoy in Ireland, and James in Scotland. He was imprisoned, but released, perhaps because Mountjoy was indispensable in the struggle with Tyrone, and his share in the transaction would not bear daylight. No doubt Cecil picked Leigh's brains. He went to Scotland, where James made him a gentleman of his privy chamber, and gave him a pension of £2,000 Scots (£166 13s. 4d.).<sup>1</sup> In 1603 he was sent to announce the King's accession in Dublin, and was knighted by Mountjoy.<sup>2</sup> Later he was Provost Marshal at Carlisle.<sup>3</sup> In 1617 he was protesting against the withdrawal of his pension, with those of others, as a measure of public economy. It was continued, but fell into arrears, which were not settled until long after his death in 1626.<sup>4</sup> Whip-and-away, on the other hand, is recorded as *jam superstes* in a Lee pedigree of 1629.<sup>5</sup> He surrendered his pensions for a sum down of £1,200 in 1630, and must have lived to regret it.<sup>6</sup>

I return to the winding-up of Lee's estate. The leases and chattels not covered by his settlement were disposed of by a will of October 6 1609.<sup>7</sup> This set up two bodies of executors. To Sir Thomas Vavasour and John Walter Lee left his lease of Wedon, the stuff in his mansions of Lelius in Wedon and Lee's Rest in Charlbury, and a farm in Spelsbury, and half his furniture, plate, and implement, for such uses and term as he might appoint in writing. It is obvious that these were for the benefit of Anne Vavasour, as an addition to the

<sup>1</sup> *Cal. Border Papers*, i, *passim*; ii. 648, 771, 815; *Cal. Signet Bills*, 39; H. v. 65; viii. 130; x. 61, 65, 66, 75, 94, 134, 158, 168, 173, 196, 223, 233, 270; xiv. 212; *Corr. James VI* (C.S. lxxviii), 90, 103; Birch, *Eliz.* ii. 470; *S.P.D.* cclxxxi. 27.

<sup>2</sup> *S.P.I.* (1603-6), p. 55; *Carew MSS.* v. 385.

<sup>3</sup> *H.M.C.* x (4), 235-56.

<sup>4</sup> *S.P.D.* (1623-5), Add., p. 552; *S.P.I.* (Car. I), ccxlv. 860; ccliii. 2163.

<sup>5</sup> *1 Gen.* i. 179.

<sup>6</sup> *Cal. Irish P. Rolls* (Car. I), 354.

<sup>7</sup> *2 Gen.* ix. 18; *Dillon Notes*, W. 181.



jointure already secured to her. The reversion of this property, together with the rest of his chattels, the leases of Charlbury manor, Aylesbury parsonage, and the land held of Sir William Pope, and some other trifles, he left to his heir Henry Lee, John Walter, and John Lee of Lachford, to follow the trusts of the settlement. There are small legacies to Richard Nash, Michael Lee, and other servants, to William Scott, to Elizabeth, daughter of Miles Southwell, who was Anne Vavasour's niece, and to Lady Susan Bouchier, including the sum of £800 which he owed her, subject to the surrender of any annuity or rent-charge which she had of him. His burial is to be in the chancel of Quarrendon, 'in a tombe there alreadie prepared by me'; and further tombs, if not already prepared by him, are to be set up there for the bodies of his father and mother, with the names of all their children, at a cost of £50, of his uncle Sir Thomas Wyatt at £40, of Mrs. Anne Vavasour *alias* Finch at £50, and of his brothers Robert, Thomas, and Cromwell, and his sister Joyce Cheyne at £10 each. Two lawyers, Sir Edward Coke and Sir Davie Williams, were appointed overseers of the will, and it was witnessed by William Scott, Lee's first biographer, Thomas Johnes, the parson of Wootton, Richard Nash, Michael Lee, Richard Gosnell, and Edward Dow. It is interesting to observe that Richard Nash was of the same family as Thomas Nash, who married the granddaughter of William Shakespeare.<sup>1</sup>

Having thus ordered his affairs, as nearly in perpetuity as it is given to the frail wit of man to secure, Sir Henry Lee died on 12 February 1611. There are two notices of the event. On 19 February George Blundell wrote to Sir Ralph Winwood<sup>2</sup>—

Sir Henry Lee is dead, and hath left Sir Robert Lee's son, of the Forest, with one eye, his heir, and all his lands and goods,

<sup>1</sup> Chambers, *William Shakespeare*, ii. 10.

<sup>2</sup> *Buccleuch MSS.* (H.M.C.), i. 97.





but £600 a year to M<sup>rs</sup> Banaster during her life and no further; and she must put in bands to leave the houses and goods she hath at her death as good as now they are.

'Banaster' must clearly, I think, be an error for 'Vavasour', although it is odd that Sir Robert Banaster was at Lee's funeral as Master of the Household to the King. I cannot verify the young Henry Lee's connexion, also noted by Aubrey, with Wychwood Forest. On 6 March John Sanford wrote to Sir Thomas Edmondess<sup>1</sup>—

By the late fall of the three knights of the garter, Lord Dunbar, Sir Henry Leigh, and Viscount Bindon, the house of Suffolk groweth great in lands.

Theophilus Howard, son of Thomas Earl of Suffolk, was granted the Keepership of the Tower of Greenwich and of Greenwich Park in July 1611, and I suppose that Lee must have held these posts, although I have no other record of it. A touch of irony is contributed by Elias Ashmole, who tells us in his *History of the Garter* that in Elizabeth's time it had been laid down that on the death of a Knight of the Order his robes should be returned to the College of St. George:

But the *Mantle* of *Sir Henry Lea*, being left to the disposal of others, and not sent to the *Colledge*, hapned at length, to come into the hands of *Brokers*, and openly exposed to sale in *Long-lane*, to the great dishonour of the *Order*.<sup>2</sup>

It is curious how the fragments of social history fit into one another. In 1635 Sir Henry Herbert, the Master of the Revels, committed one Cromes, a broker in Long Lane, to the Marshalsea, for lending a church-robe, with the name of Jesus upon it, to the players in Salisbury Court, to present a Flamen, a priest of the heathen.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Birch, *James*, i. 108.

<sup>2</sup> Ashmole, *Garter*, 636.

<sup>3</sup> J. Q. Adams, *Dramatic Records of Herbert*, 64.



Lee's Garter robes, however, probably lay on the bier, when his funeral took place at Quarrendon on 4 April 1611.<sup>1</sup> It was a costly affair, for which £400 had been provided in the will. Eighty poor men in gowns and a number of servants headed a long procession of knights and gentry from Bucks and Oxfordshire. Some of Lee's own men led his great horses. The King's representative with Lord Norris and the preacher for the defunct came next. The preacher was probably William Swaddon, prebendary of Aylesbury, since Theophilus Tuer, Rector of Fleetmarston, who was also present, was only licensed to preach in November 1611.<sup>2</sup> Garter King at Arms and the Lancaster and Chester heralds walked before the bier. Kinsmen, friends, and household officers flanked it, some of them no doubt as pall-bearers, or carried banners. Here was Sir Thomas Vavasour; young Thomas, the bastard, was inconspicuous among the gentry. The heir followed as chief mourner, with his family, John Lee of Lachford, and John Walter, the executors. Nicholas Charles, the Chester herald, who set down the names for us, also took occasion to copy the inscriptions which he found in Quarrendon Chapel, and to trick the armorial coats in its windows.<sup>3</sup> Some of these probably dated from the time of Lee's grandfather or great-grandfather, but the east window must have been put in by Lee himself between 1597 and 1601, since it had his Garter coat, and a representation of the Arms of the Passion, with verses by Richard Latewar, of St. John's, Oxford, who went to Ireland as chaplain to Lord Mountjoy, and died there of a wound on 17 July 1601. He had some reputation as a preacher and poet, and is credited in more than one manuscript with lines on *The Lie*, which are elsewhere ascribed to Sir Walter Raleigh.<sup>4</sup> It is clear from Nicholas Charles that Lee had already

<sup>1</sup> App. F.

<sup>2</sup> Clark, *Oxford Register*, ii (3), 238.

<sup>3</sup> App. G.

<sup>4</sup> Latham, *Raleigh*, 155, confuses him with Edward Lapworth.





prepared the tomb of his parents, and also that for Anne Vavasour, which bore the inscription—

Under this Stone intombed lies a faire & worthy Dame  
daughter to Henry Vauasor Anne Vauasour her name  
Shée liuing w<sup>th</sup> S<sup>r</sup> Henry Lee for loue long tyme did dwell  
Death Could not part them but that here they rest w<sup>th</sup>in  
one cell.

Anne Vavasour, however, was by no means dead, and in the following year Charles noted on his manuscript, 'This tombe is since erased & pulled downe'. John Aubrey also tells us that at the feet of the effigies of Sir Henry lay that of Anne, and adds that 'some bishop did threaten to have this monument defaced (at least to remove Mrs. A. Vavasours effigies)'. And he gives, although his editor prunes it, a ribald epigram on the subject of which other versions are preserved.<sup>1</sup> Nothing is said by Charles of any tombs for Lee's brothers or sister, or for Sir Thomas Wyatt, and probably none were ever set up. Wyatt in fact lies in the vault of the Horsey family at Sherborne, near which death met him. Quarrendon, depopulated for sheep-farming, had little need of a chapel. When Browne Willis, the Bucks antiquary, visited it in 1704 the structure was in good repair, but no regular service was held. The glass was gone, and was replaced by wooden shutters. A fragment, with the arms of Cromwell, found its way to the Bodleian and is now in a south window of the picture gallery. There had been a large house in a moat, but only part remained, in a neighbouring farm, which still exists. Willis could not trace even the 'footsteps' of the hospital which Lee was said by William Scott to have raised. He made a careful note of the monuments, which he seems to have revised at a later examination. There were three in the chancel, but one consisted only of an empty canopy. He was told that it had once held the effigy of a kneeling lady, who

<sup>1</sup> *Brief Lives*, ii. 31; *Bodl. Aubrey MS.* 8, f. 91<sup>v</sup>; *Bodl. Ashm. MS.* 38, p. 197; *Harl. MS.* 4630, f. 356; Tomlinson, *Hatfield*, 160.



was a concubine of Sir Henry Lee, but this had been removed and flung into the moat by soldiers during the Civil Wars, who had also defaced the inscription. Later he learnt the story as given by Aubrey. In 1802 Quarrendon was sold to the Du Pre family. The chapel was neglected. Occasional services were still held up to 1808, and an old man remembered in 1858 that he had kept the key, but that neighbours had broken through the door and done damage. By 1806 there was much dilapidation and the monuments were mutilated and hastening to total decay. Drawings of 1815 show the main structure still standing, but when George Lipscomb visited it in 1817, both walls and roof were beginning to give way. He was, however, still able to give an account of the tombs, which confirms that of Browne Willis. W. H. Smyth found the roof off in 1828 and the area used as a cow-pen. Fragments of marble and alabaster strewn the ground. By 1842 these were all that was left of the monuments. Successive reports of the Bucks Archaeological Society from 1854 to 1858 describe further wreckage and unavailing attempts to check it. By 1856 arms and legs from the effigies were in use for propping up pigsties.<sup>1</sup> The chapel is now a complete ruin. *Ubi nunc fidelis ossa Fabricii manent?*

The new Sir Henry Lee, when he entered upon his estate, had to face complications, some of which landed him in Chancery lawsuits. There were claims on bonds given by his predecessor to be met, although one of these by Francis and Leonard Power of Bletchingdon proved to be unsubstantiated, and they had to pay damages.<sup>2</sup> The tenants of Charlbury renewed their claim to rights of common in the lord's woods, and put

<sup>1</sup> Bodl. Browne Willis MSS. iv. f. 190; xiii. f. 111; Lysons, *Magna Brit.* i. 623; *Gent. Mag.* lxxxvii (1), 504, (2), 105, 489; lxxxviii (1), 116; Lipscomb, *Bucks.* ii. 406; W. H. Smyth, *Aedes Hartwellianae* (1851), 61, Add. (1864), 127, 130; *Bucks. Arch. Soc.* i, app. 12; *Bucks. Records*, i. 59, 149, 230; ii. 22; *V.H. Bucks.* iv. 101.

<sup>2</sup> *Ditchley MSS.*; *Dillon Notes*, W. 131.





forward another for the pulling down of Lee's Rest, which had cost £5,000, although on both points the manorial agreement of 1588 was against them.<sup>1</sup> Whip-and-away seems to have made a protest against his disinheritance, or at least to have attempted to secure an allowance. A much mutilated paper among the Ditchley manuscripts relates to some complaint exhibited by him, perhaps in the Probate Court. So much of it as is left appears to be a statement by the heir, for the information of Lady Cavendish, whose daughter by her first husband, Sir Richard Wortley, he had married, of the charges with which the property was burdened. These included, in addition to Anne Vavasour's jointure, the total yearly value of which was put at £700, annuities of £40 to her son Thomas Vavasour, £300 to Sir Robert Lee, the heir's father, and £300 to Robert Lee of Binfield and his brother-in-law Bryan Janson.<sup>2</sup> Some bonds protecting Anne's interests appear to have been held in trust for her by Sir Thomas Vavasour and one Hannibal Horsey, of Honingham in Warwickshire, a brother-in-law of Edward Fisher of Bishop's Itchington, whose family affairs had given the old Sir Henry Lee trouble as far back as 1587.<sup>3</sup> These the heir repudiated, together with the legacy to Anne of the New College lease in Wedon, which he said had been settled long ago upon his father. But the court found against him. There had been a power of revocation in that settlement. No unfair means had been used to secure the lease for Anne. She had done many good offices and showed general favour to the testator, as well as to the plaintiff and his father, when they came to visit him.<sup>4</sup> Anne did not perhaps come so well out of another suit, which began in 1612 and lingered on to 1617.<sup>5</sup> The story is much like that of

<sup>1</sup> *Dillon Notes*, W. 86; cf. p. 220.

<sup>2</sup> *Bodl. MS. Top. Bucks.*, c. 1, f. 240; *Dillon Notes*, W. 171.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. p. 64.

<sup>4</sup> *Dillon Notes*, W. 131.

<sup>5</sup> *App. H.*; *Dillon Notes*, W. 131.



George Earl of Shrewsbury and Eleanor Britton. Anne had been required, by the directions attached to Lee's will, to deliver to his successor an inventory of the plate and stuff in his Spelsbury, Charlbury, and Wedon houses, in which she was given a life-interest. And when this was received, many articles of value appeared to be omitted, which Sir Henry naturally suspected that she had misappropriated. He took her and Sir Thomas Vavasour into Chancery. We do not know the decision of the court, but after much delay in getting Anne to answer interrogatories, came an elaborate report by two Masters in Chancery, who had been instructed to ascertain the facts. They had obtained much evidence from Sir Robert Lee, the heir's father, from Bennet Wilson, whom we have met before, from Thomas Johnes, the parson of Wootton, and from a number of household servants, including a Joyce Lee, whose connexion with Sir Henry is unknown. But they were not able to arrive at very definite conclusions. The goods in dispute consisted of jewels, plate, hangings, linen, and corn. The most interesting are the jewels. No claim was made in respect of some of these which had been given by Anne to the Queen in Lee's presence, no doubt at the visit of 1608. But there were others, some of which were costly. A cross of gold and diamonds was variously valued at £180 and £100. There were a linnet and a book of gold, a jewel called the Queen's picture, a butterfly, and an agate. Some pieces had been pawned for Sir Henry by Sir Richard Lee and John Lee, but were alleged to have been redeemed. The Masters did not find clear evidence that any of the jewels were in the testator's possession at his death, but they held that, if they were, they now belonged to the heir. They pointed out that Anne was not required by the directions under the will to include any jewels in the inventory, to which it may be added that none were left to her by the will. But they understood that Lee's jewels had been in her keeping, in







a black box which stood in or near his bed-chamber, and that in his lifetime she wore divers of them as her own. And it was deposed that she had given instructions after his death for the conveyance of the Queen's picture to Kingston. Incidentally, it is clear that this picture was a jewel, probably a miniature, and cannot, as suggested by Miss Corbett, have been the great portrait of Elizabeth, with her feet on one of the Sheldon tapestry maps of Oxfordshire, which long remained at Ditchley.<sup>1</sup> As to the plate, which included a little silver pot with two ears, called a Little Conscience, the Masters were again undecided.<sup>2</sup> They had no valuation of it. A voider had been made of some plate given by Lee to Anne at the christening of Thomas Vavasour, and this had been claimed by him, with the consent of the heir, at the division of goods. Moreover, it was deposed that Anne had some plate of her own, including two pots called 'Cruces lips', which may have been 'Croesus's lips'. It was not clear that this was distinct from the plate specified in the complaint. There was much linen in Lee's Rest at the time of the death, in various chests and trunks. Some of it was elaborately embroidered with gold and silver and silk, and had gone to and fro at removes between Lee's Rest and Ditchley House. This had been bought for Lee by Bennet Wilson at Derby market, and was worth £200. Some had been used when the King visited Lee's Rest. Some had been sent by Sir Edward Vere from the Low Countries. Apparently none of all this was in the inventory, and Anne only laid claim to a small part of it. Nor did the inventory include much household linen at Spelsbury House, which was large enough to lodge thirty persons. Some of it, however, had been used to make cerecloths for Lee's corpse. His body-linen also was not entered, and among this

<sup>1</sup> E. Corbett, *Spelsbury*, 133.

<sup>2</sup> W. Cartwright, *The Ordinary* (1651), 'a jug that some men call a bel-larmine, but we a conscience'.



were three sweet bags, one of which, worth 100 marks, was habitually used about his person. At the house of Lelius there had once been thirty-two pieces of hangings. Only twenty-six appeared in the inventory. Possibly the other six were identical with some hangings, worth £60, which had been sent to Vere at The Hague. Some winter corn on the ground at Spelsbury had been sold on behalf of Anne, but she alleged that what was in the barn had been employed in the household after Lee's death. Finally, the Masters note the absence of any clear proof that the inventory shown to them was that given by Anne to the heir, without alteration. They were very cautious, but the impression remains that Anne had feathered her nest. This was presumably at Kingston in Surrey, two miles from Ham House in Petersham, which was built by her brother Sir Thomas Vavasour. Over the door is the date 1610 and the initials T.V.M., which represent Thomas Vavasour, Miles. It is said to have been intended for Prince Henry, to whom the manor of Petersham was granted, in 1610, but who died in 1612.<sup>1</sup> Vavasour seems to have been hoping in 1603 to obtain the office of Butler in the royal household. But this was obsolete, and it proved impracticable to revive it. He was compensated with that of Knight Marshal, and the confirmation of a grant of £2,000, originally promised by Elizabeth.<sup>2</sup> In the Chancery suit he is described as Knight and Baronet. About the baronetcy there may have been some hitch. One was granted to his son Charles, then of Killingworth, Lincolnshire, in 1631, but with precedence as from 1611.<sup>3</sup>

The adventures of Anne Vavasour were not yet over. On 8 August 1618 John Chamberlain wrote to Dudley Carleton:<sup>4</sup>—

M<sup>rs</sup> Vavasour, old Sir Henry Lee's woman, is like to be

<sup>1</sup> *V.H. Surrey*, iii. 525; Roundell, *Ham House*, i. 23.

<sup>2</sup> H. xii. 318; xv. 323; Devon, *Issues of Exchequer*, 20, 305; *S.P.D.* (Jac. I), iv, p. 48.

<sup>3</sup> G. E. C., *Baronetage*, ii. 78.

<sup>4</sup> Birch, *James*, ii. 85.







called in question for having two husbands now alive. Young Sir Henry Lee, the wild oats of Ireland, hath obtained the confiscation of her, if he can prove it without touching her life.

In young Sir Henry Lee we have once more Whip-and-away. The second husband was a John Richardson of Durham, who was a party with Anne to a lease on 18 June 1621 of the Spelsbury farm, with the Court and other closes, left to her for 60 years or life under the terms of Lee's will. It was given at her request by Sir John Walter as her surviving trustee, Sir Thomas Vavasour, whose natural sister she was, being dead. The pedigree of Richardson of Durham shows a John living in 1615, with a wife Anne, who was the daughter of Richard Jonson, and a son John, whose wife was Margery, daughter of Christopher Athey. It is conceivable that one of these Johns may have remarried with Anne Vavasour by 1618.<sup>2</sup> However this may be, the bigamy case came before the High Commission, and was not determined by them until 1 February 1621. Anne was condemned to pay a fine of £2,000, the King's interest in which was granted to Whip-and-away. From a more ignominious, if less costly, sequel the prerogative of the crown was invoked to exempt her. 'We are inclined', runs a warrant of 15 May 1622, 'to temper the severity of the law with our royal mercy, and grant her dispensation from public penitence or other bodily penalty.'<sup>3</sup> A moderately triumphant Anne Vavasour has the last word in this chronicle.

<sup>1</sup> *Ditchley MSS.*

<sup>2</sup> J. Foster, *Durham Visitations*, 268.

<sup>3</sup> *Pat. Roll*, 2272, 3; *S.P.D.* cxx. 43, p. 239; *Dillon Notes*, W. 86, from *Signet Bill*.



## APPENDIX A

### THE LEE PEDIGREE

THERE is no pedigree of Lee of Ditchley in the heraldic Visitations of Oxfordshire, and none of Lee of Quarrendon, Hulcott, or Pitstone in those of Bucks taken in 1566 and 1634. A family of Lee of Morton in Dinton and later of Hartwell is distinct. A pedigree of Lee of Binfield is in the Berks Visitations of 1623 and 1665 (*Harl. Soc.* lvi. 106, 240), and has been printed from the papers (*Bodleian Ashm. MS.* 852) of Elias Ashmole. G. Lipscomb, *History of Bucks.* (1847), ii. 404, gives a compiled pedigree for which he cites the Bucks Visitations as part authority, but what in fact he used (i. xxiv) was *Harleian MS.* 1533. This is itself only a compilation, based on the Visitations of 1566 (for which a corrector has substituted 1575) and 1634, but also containing additions by the painter-stainer, Richard Mundy. No copy of a Visitation in 1574 or 1575 is known, and it is probable that no such Visitation ever took place. In any case the Lee pedigree here (f. 72) was not completed until after Sir Henry Lee's death in 1611, and it clearly owes its origin to a pedigree of the Lee family of Wybunbury in Cheshire, from which Sir Henry, at any rate in the later part of his life, claimed to be derived. This is printed (*Harl. Soc.* xviii. 134) as part of the Visitation of Cheshire by William Flower and Robert Glover in 1580, from copies of another painter-stainer, John Saunders, in *Harleian MSS.* 1424, f. 94<sup>v</sup>, and 1505, f. 93. But in fact only part of the descent of the main line is taken from the Visitation itself (*Coll. of Arms MSS.* E.D. n. 17; J.D. xiv; R.R. 39<sup>c</sup>), and the rest, including the connexion with Bucks, is again a compilation, apparently by Richard Lee, Clarencieux Herald (*ob.* 23 September 1597), who himself appears in it. It has, however, also passed through the hands of one John Woodnett, a kinsman of the Lees of Wybunbury, who gives, as compiled from the 'evidences' of the Wybunbury family, a version of the earlier stages which eliminates the Quarrendon connexion, and notes against that of his predecessor, 'This was sett downe by Clar 'Lee sed min' credendum'. Nevertheless, it is the genealogy of Clarencieux, and not that of Woodnett, which was





confirmed in 1819 by George Ormerod in his *History of Cheshire* (ed. T. Helsby, i. 630) from a roll of Thomas Townshend of Wincham, then the representative of the Wybunbury family. Woodnett's latest date is 1599, but that of 1597 for Sir Henry Lee's Garter appears in Clarencieux's part. Clarencieux is followed by other Cheshire pedigrees in *Harleian MS.* 807, f. 32, *Harleian MS.* 1535, f. 195, and *Addl. MS.* 5529, f. 36, and also by various pedigrees belonging to the Quarrendon family itself, or its actual or alleged congeners. Of these I can trace six.

- (a) MS. preserved at Ditchley, apparently not of later date than 1611, of which a copy is in *Dillon Notes*, W. 241.
- (b) *Harleian MS.* 5808, f. 144<sup>v</sup>, in the hand of Peter le Neve, Norroy King-at-Arms (*ob.* 1729), from a copy by Henry Ball in 1683 of a pedigree belonging to the 1st Earl of Lichfield (*cr.* 1674), probably that drawn up in 1680 of which a continuation was registered at the College of Arms by the 3rd Earl in 1769.
- (c) MS. of T. C. Thornton of Brockhampton, Northants., partly compiled in 1611, but with later additions, of which a copy is in *Dillon Notes*, W. 235.
- (d) MS. dated 1629, of Roger Lee of Pitstone, or his nephew Sir Edmund Lenthall, signed by Sir Henry St. George, Garter, printed in *1 Genealogist*, i. 177.
- (e) MS. of Cosmas Nevill of Holt, Leicestershire, a son-in-law of the 2nd Earl of Lichfield (*ob.* 1743), of which a printed copy is in *Bodleian MS. Top. Oxon.* c. 4, f. 256.
- (f) MS. of a John Lee, claimed as the ancestor of Lees at Thame, not printed in any trustworthy form.

A pedigree by Gregory King (*ob.* 1712) in *5 Misc. Gen. et Her.* ix. 156 is probably from similar sources.

Pedigrees (a) and (b) are closely related. John Jordan seems to have consulted (a) for his *History of Enstone* (1857); and this, with (b)–(f), was used by the Rev. F. G. Lee for compiled pedigrees and accounts of the Lee family in *Records of Bucks.* iii, 203, 241; iv, 189; *1 Genealogist*, i (1877), 177; *Genealogy of Lee* (1884); *Herald and Genealogist*, iii (1866), 113, 289, 481; *2 Miscellanea Genealogica et Heraldica*, i (1886), 101, 127, 147. Here are many errors, together with attempts to link the Quarrendon family, on the one hand with that of Lee of Virginia, and on the other with that of Lee of Thame, to which



the writer himself belonged. The Virginian theory is refuted by J. H. Lea in *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* (1890, 1892) and W. B. Lee in *2 Miscellanea Genealogica et Heraldica*, v (1894), 107, 124, 148, and two inconsistent versions of the Thame theory in *2 Genealogist*, x. 232; xi. 203, in spite of defence for one of them by G. A. Lee (*ibid.* xi. 63).

A better way was opened by J. H. Lea, who published in *2 Genealogist* (1892-8), viii. 226; ix. 18, 157, 227; x. 71, 229; xi. 20; xii. 186; xiii. 29, 120, 229; xiv. 127, 166, a large collection of abstracts of wills and inquisitions, extracts from parish registers, and monumental inscriptions. He did not live to complete his work, but from his data, with some help from the family pedigrees and from records of marriage alliances in various Visitations, it is possible to construct the following skeleton tables. Further details must be sought in the text and this appendix, or for the remoter branches, in J. H. Lea's collections.

There are not many points in these tables which require special comment here. Robert Lee, the constable of Quarrendon in 1471, is obscure. It is reasonable to suppose him a son of the first Benedict, who died before his father. The Northants Visitation of 1564 (ed. Metcalfe, 23) and the Warwick Visitation of 1619 (*Harl. Soc.* xii. 167) give Nicholas Griffin of Braybrooke, Northants, a son Edward, of Berkswell, Warwickshire, who married a daughter of Leigh of Bucks. Edward and Joyce Griffin of Berkswell joined the Gild of Knowle (Bickley, *Register*, 137, 143) in 1500. J. P. Yeatman, *The Gentle Shakespeare*, 131, 171, 239 *sqq.*, makes Joyce's father Robert Leigh, but does not give his authority. The point is of some interest because Yeatman also makes a daughter Alice Griffin marry Richard Shakespeare of Wroxall, whom he identifies, wrongly I think (*William Shakespeare*, ii. 28, 358), with the poet's grandfather.

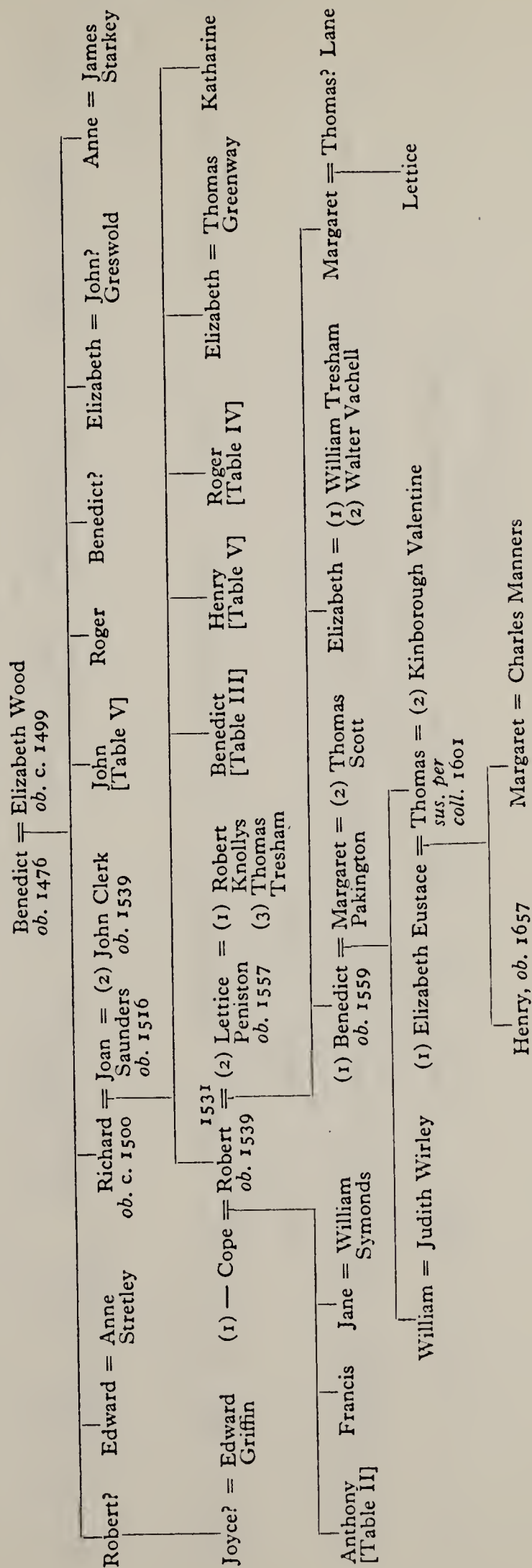
Some uncertainty attaches to Sir Henry's great-grandmother, the wife of Richard Lee, and his grandmother, the wife of Sir Robert Lee. The Cheshire and family pedigrees call the former Elizabeth or Anne Saunders, and sometimes specify her father as William Saunders or William Saunders of Oxfordshire. For the latter they rarely get beyond 'a daughter of Cope'. One MS. (*Addl.* 5529) adds 'of Hamwell', and Lipscomb gives the name Joan. Conceivably Richard might have







TABLE I











4218

(1) Isabel Clarell = Benedict of Hulcott, *ob.* 1547 = (2) Elizabeth Cheyne

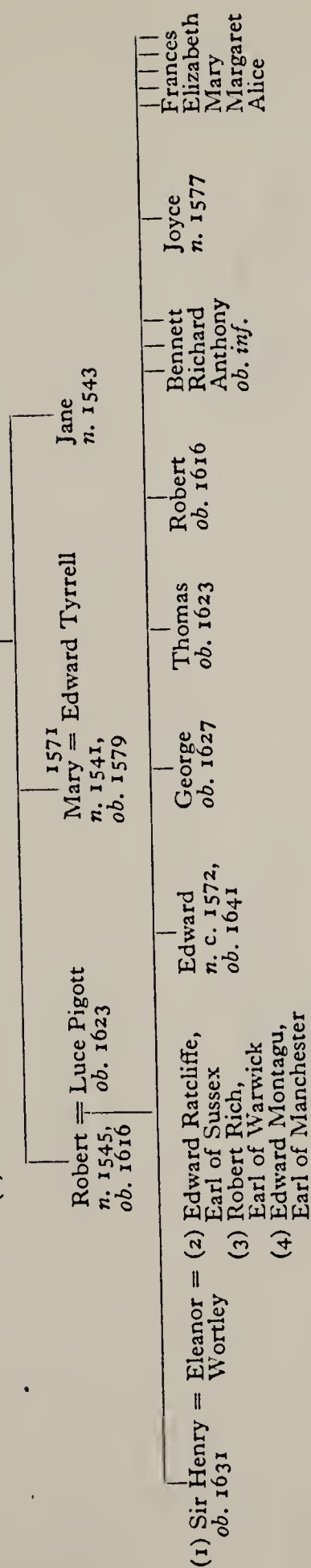


TABLE IV

(1) Isabel Cheyne = Roger of Pitstone, *ob.* c. 1552 = (2) Mary Marshall

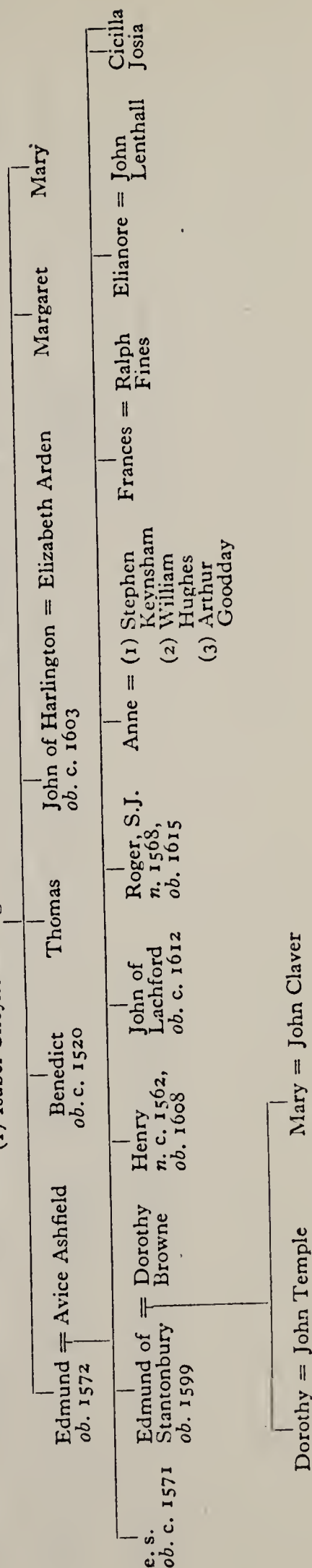
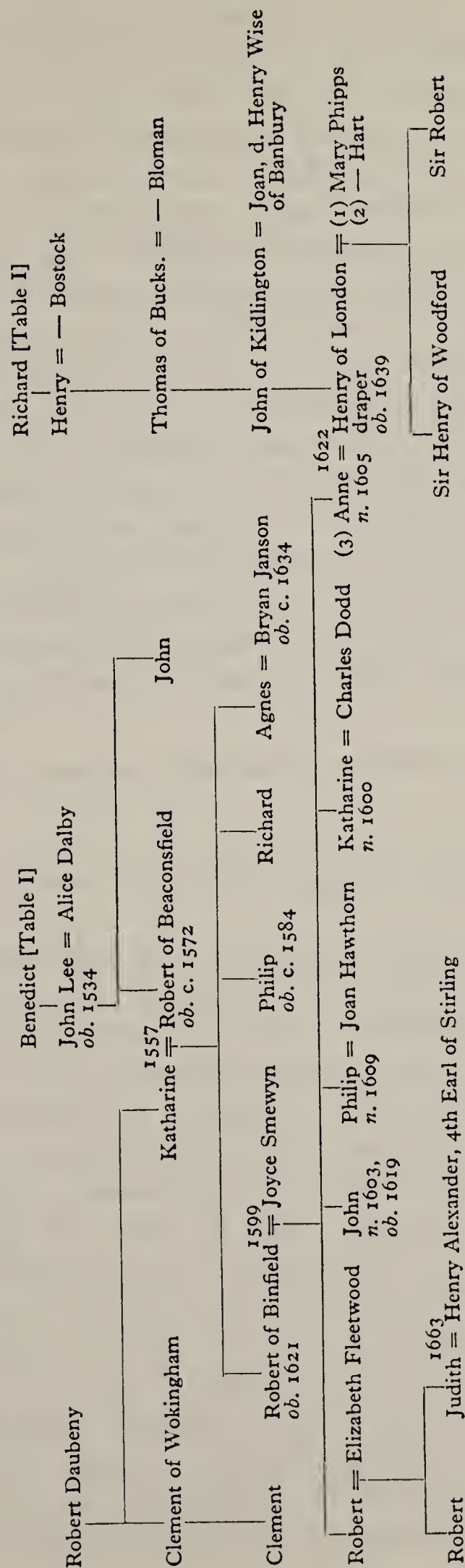




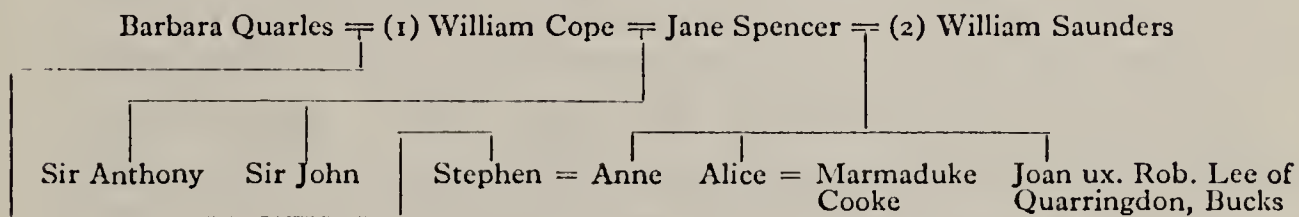
TABLE V







married twice, but it is clear from records that his widow was Joan. I see no reason to reject the statement of a Cooke pedigree in the Essex Visitation of 1558 (*Harl. Soc.* xiii. 39) that she was Joan, daughter of William Saunders of Surrey and Banbury, whose other daughter Alice married Sir John Cooke of Essex, the grandfather of Lady Burghley. The Saunders family of Surrey is well known, and a William Saunders, who may be the father of this man, was in Banbury by 1448 (A. Beesley, *Hist. of Banbury*, 176), and here Sir Robert Lee had some property, which his son sold to Sir Anthony Cope (*Ditchley MSS.; Early Chanc. Proc. C.* 1. 847. 7). To Banbury also belonged William Cope (*ob.* 1513), Cofferer to Henry VII, who acquired the neighbouring manor of Hanwell. He married twice, if not three times. His monument names wives Agnes and Jane, and his widow Jane or Joan, the daughter of Sir John Spencer of Hodnell in Warwickshire, died in 1526. There is a troublesome pedigree of Cope of Bedhampton in a collection of Hants pedigrees by Richard Mundy (*Harl. Soc.* lxiv. 21). It is in substance as follows:



This is in part confirmed by a pedigree printed with the Northants Visitations (ed. Metcalfe, 15), whence the Copes came to Oxfordshire, but here the children of William Saunders are not given. They are almost certainly wrong in that from Hants. Marmaduke Cooke is an error for John Cooke of Essex (*v. supra*), and there can be little doubt that 'Rob. Lee' is an error for Richard Lee. Moreover, dates show that both pedigrees have inverted the order of Jane Spencer's marriages. Richard Lee's wife died in 1516, and Robert's by 1521. Neither could have been the offspring of a marriage later than the death of William Cope in 1513. And it was as Jane Cope that Jane Spencer made her will in 1526 (*P.C.C.* 7 Porch), leaving a legacy to her 'daughter' Beatrix, the sister of Anthony Cooke. This would be really a grand- and presumably god-daughter. Anthony Cooke was a son of Sir John. It will be observed that the rather unusual name Anthony is common to the Cooke,



Cope, and Lee families. It is merely a guess (Beesley, 193) that Jane kept the Cope name after remarriage. She was already married to Cope at the time of her father's will in 1496 (Nicolas, *Testamenta Vetusta*, 427; cf. *Cal. i.p.m. Hen. VII*, ii. 161). Who then was Sir Robert Lee's Cope wife? I can only suppose her to be a daughter of Sir William Cope by an earlier wife than Jane Spencer, either the Barbara Quarles of the Hants and Northants pedigrees, or the Agnes of his monument, daughter and heir of Sir Robert Harcourt and widow of Thomas Stonar (Beesley, 191). And it must be doubtful whether in calling her Joan Lipscomb was not misled by the Hants pedigree. William Cope's will names no daughters.

Richard Lee's marriage with Joan Saunders receives support from armorial bearings. Saunders of Surrey, whose chief house was at Charlwood, bore *Sable, a chevron ermine between 3 bulls' heads cabossed argent*. The precise derivation of Saunders of Banbury from Surrey is not clear, but evidently this branch adopted a different coat. It is tricked with the Hants pedigree as *Argent, a lion rampant azure, within a bordure of the second estoilee or*. But the *estoiles* must be yet another Hants error for *fleurs-de-lis*, which replace them as one of Sir Henry Lee's quarterings. They were also borne by Lee of Pitstone. But they make a much earlier appearance in the side-windows of the chancel of Quarrendon chapel (cf. App. G). Here were four separate shields; (a) Lee; (b) Cooke, *Or, a chevron compony gules and azure between 3 cinquefoils of the last*, impaling Saunders; (c) Cope *⟨Argent,⟩ on a chevron ⟨azure⟩, between 3 roses ⟨gules⟩ slipped and leaved ⟨vert⟩, as many fleurs-de-lis ⟨or⟩*, impaling Saunders; (d) Saunders, impaling the second quartering of Spencer of Wormleighton, from which Spencer of Hodnell was a branch, *A fess ermine between 6 sea-mews' heads erased*. Charles does not give all the tinctures. These coats clearly stand for marriages of Richard Lee's mother-in-law and her daughters Alice and Anne. Neither Richard's own marriage nor that of Sir Robert is represented. Possibly they, or at least Richard's, were once in the east window, before Sir Henry took it for his own grandiose design.

A greater difficulty is to determine the origin of the line of Robert Lee of Binfield, whose heirs stand after the Lees of Hulcott and Hardwick in Sir Henry's entail. There is a link in pedigrees







of the Quarrendon line and also in others of its own (*Harl. Soc.* lvi. 106, 240, from Berks Visitations of 1623 and 1665; *Harl. MS.* 5808, f. 211), and these, with records in *Harl. Soc.* lviii. 55, 74; 2 *Gen.* ix. 230, 231; x. 71, 229; xiii. 32; xiv. 128, are the basis of my table. The *Harleian MS.* (f. 145) has also the family coat, as entered at the College of Arms in 1680, from pedigrees authenticated by Nicholas Charles, Lancaster Herald (1609-13), and Ralph Brooke, York Herald (*ob.* 1625). The arms have a martlet for a fourth son's cadency. In all the pedigrees the link with Quarrendon is through a John, the son of Richard, whose wife is given as Alice, daughter of Robert Dalby of Worcestershire. F. G. Lee in 1866 (*H. and G.* iii. 486), as part of an attempt to trace his own ancestry through Lee of Pocklington, Yorks, from Lee of Quarrendon, described a 'somewhat defaced' memorial at Pocklington, with the inscription:

Here · lyeth · ye · bodie · of · Iohn · Lee · of · Warwick · and ·  
Alicia · hys · wyfe · ye · wch · deceesed · ye · 21<sup>st</sup> · of · Ianuarie ·  
1601 · W.M. † H.M.

Inquiry by J. H. Lea in 1893 (2 *Gen.* ix. 231) revealed that this did not then exist and had not existed within the knowledge of a vicar inducted in 1876. The alleged date is of course incredible for a son of Richard Lee, who died in 1499-1500. My impression is that the pedigrees are based upon a misunderstanding which must already have existed in the seventeenth century, and that John Lee died about 1534, and was not a son but a brother of Richard, and a son of the first Benedict. It is based on the following facts. (1) Benedict Lee named third among the living sons in his will (1476), a John to whom he left a place in Walton called Bevers next Aylesbury. There were three manors in Aylesbury: (a) the chief manor held to 1545 by Baldwins and thereafter by Pakingtons; (b) the Parsonage manor, a Lincoln prebend, which extended into the adjacent township of Walton; (c) the manor of Walton, belonging to a second Lincoln prebend of Haydor-cum-Walton, which I take to be here concerned. (2) Richard Lee names no son John in his will (1499), but a John Lee witnessed it. (3) A Richard Lee and a John Lee, both of Quarrendon, owed suit to the chief Aylesbury manor about 1500 (*Archaeologia*,



l. i. 81). (4) In 1502-3 Benedict Lee of Hulcott brought a Chancery suit against John Lee and John and Agnes Clarell for the evidences of 100 acres beside Aylesbury, and John Lee brought another against John and Joan Clerk, the heirs of Richard, for those of eight acres in the lordship of Walton. In both cases the answer was that the evidences were also claimed by Robert Lee, and we know no more (*Early Chancery Proceedings*, C. 1.266/13-16). (5) Browne Willis (*Bodleian Willis MS.* 14, f. 41) quotes the will of John Lee of Walton (8 May 1534) as then among wills of the archdeaconry of Bucks. Unfortunately he gives no family details, and the will cannot now be traced. (6) The pedigrees often follow the note of John's marriage to Alice Dalby by the note '26 Hen. 8' <1534-5>. In the Lichfield one, it is 'm̄ bef. 26 Hen. 8', and this might stand either for 'married', or for 'mortuus'. The Ditchley pedigree has 'mied . . . 26 H. 6', where the date is obviously an error, but helps by calling John 'de Warton'. (7) On 23 December 1542 Sir Anthony Lee released to Robert Lee for money his right in three cottages, a close called Tankerds Orchard, and an acre of pasture called Pillards Herne in Warwick and in all the lands which belonged to Robert's late father John (*H.M.C. Various Colls.* iv. 128). (8) Roger Lee of Pitstone in his will of 1552 (2 *Gen.* viii. 230) left £3 to 'my cousin Robert Lee, my uncle's son'. (9) The *i.p.m.* of Robert Lee of Binfield in 1622 (2 *Gen.* xiii. 32) shows him holding Rookes Farm in Walton of Alice Fountain as of her manor Le Prebend in Walton. This was the Haydor-cum-Walton manor, which the Fountains held on lease, and I take Rooke's Farm to be the Bevers of 1476. The Lees sold it in 1649 (Lipscomb, ii. 70).

These references make it clear that John Lee was a contemporary of Richard, and (8) seems conclusive that he was his brother and not his son. How Warwick property came to John remains obscure. Benedict's estate there was left to his son Roger with remainders to his sons Edward and Richard. If it came to Richard, Anthony might inherit a claim. Presumably some family arrangement is involved, the clue to which is lost. There was a Dalby family of Brookhampton (*Harl. Soc.* xii. 369; lvii. 111), which may be that in Worcestershire, but I cannot trace Robert and Alice. Robert of Binfield first appears there in 1600. A Henry Lee and his wife Alice, who died there







in 1558 and 1560 (2 *Gen.* xiv. 129), were probably of another family (*V. H. Berks*, iii. 121). The Henry Lee, son of Richard of Quarrendon, whose descendant married into the Binfield line, may have been of Frodsham, Cheshire, where a William Lea married a Catherine Bostock in 1581 (*S. Thornely, Registers*).

I turn now to the derivation of Lee of Quarrendon from Lee of Wybunbury in Cheshire. This must rest in the main on the pedigree worked out in 1597 by Richard Lee, Clarencieux. I give it here, in abbreviated form, with calendar dates in place of regnal ones, and a few additions in angular brackets.

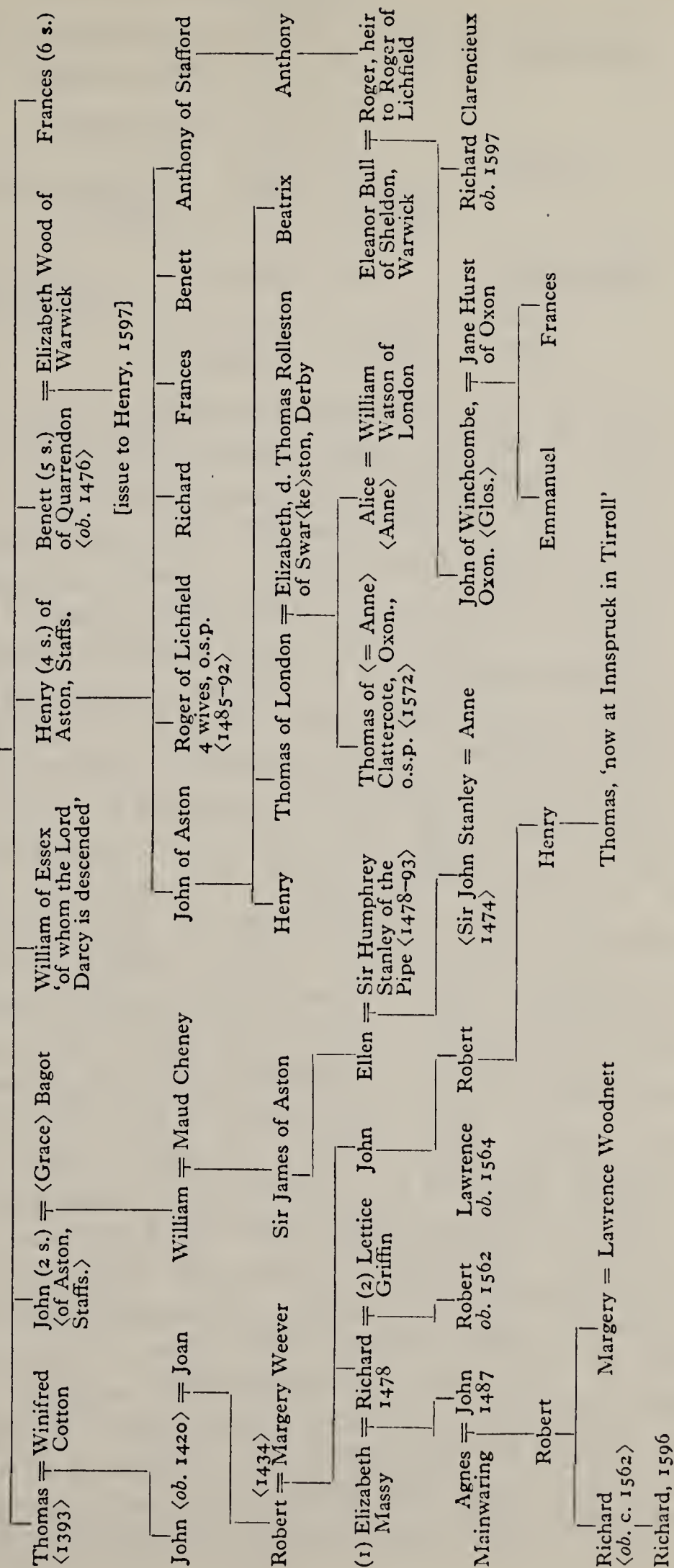
John Woodnett had himself a link with the Wybunbury family, being the great-grandson of the Lawrence shown in the pedigree, although apparently (*Harl. Soc.* xviii. 254) by a wife other than Margery Lee. He married a daughter of Robert Cook, Clarencieux, and between him and his predecessor Richard Lee some genealogical knowledge ought to have been available. The account of the main line from the sons of Robert Lee and Margery Weever downwards is consistent with the Cheshire Visitation of 1580 (*Coll. of Arms MS.* R.R. 39 c) itself, and also with the pedigree given by Ormerod. This includes the sons of John Lee and Margery Hocknell, but names seven as against Clarencieux's six, making 'Robert of Aston' the fourth and 'Henry' the sixth. It does not pursue their issue, beyond noting that Benedict was ancestor of the Earls of Lichfield. There are a few additional dates, which I have incorporated, and Ormerod's editor, Thomas Helsby, was able (iii. 516) to trace an *i.p.m.* of Benedict's alleged nephew John Lee in 1420 and a *probatio aetatis* for his son Robert, which is not quite consistent with the *i.p.m.* as to his age, but puts his marriage in 1434 (*Deputy Keeper's Reports*, xxv. 47).

One other document is of importance, because it is of much earlier date than the Cheshire Visitation of 1580. It is printed in C. H. Blair, *Visitations of the North*, iii. 158 (1930, *Surtees Soc.* cxliv) from *Bodleian Ashmole MS.* 831, f. 82, a volume of pedigrees copied, according to its editor, by the herald Robert Glover (1544-88) from a lost MS., possibly the record of a Visitation at the end of the fifteenth century, and if so presumably later than the incorporation of the College of Arms in 1483. There are details which suggest that the compiler was



TABLE VI

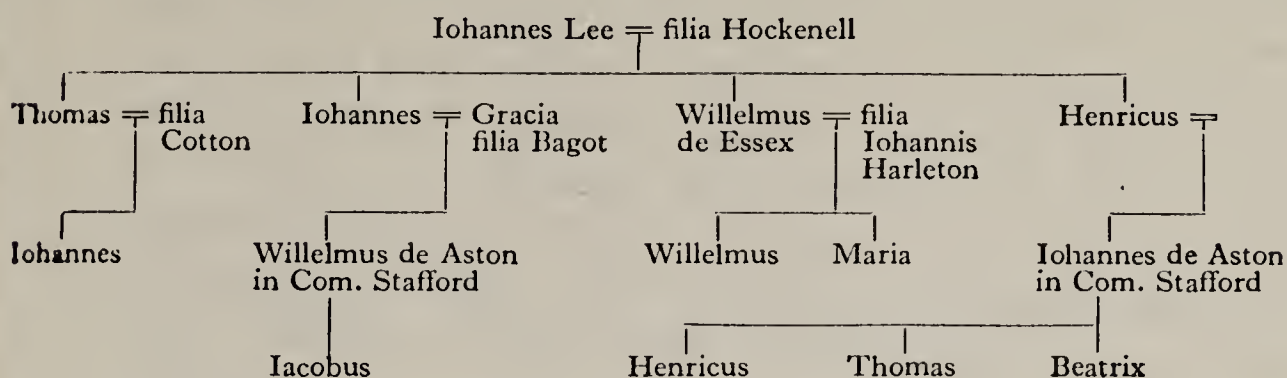
John of Wybunbury &lt;1348&gt; = Margery Hocknell







in touch with living members of families, and a few sixteenth-century additions. This, so far as relevant, gives the following:



Some confirmation is available for parts of the *cadet* lines as set out by Clarencieux. The second, that of John of Aston *juxta* Stone, is known to local historians (S. Shaw, *Staffs.* i. 354; T. Harwood, *Lichfield*, 312, 406; *William Salt Arch. Soc.* N.S. xii. 114; xvi. 214), and is correct. I cannot trace the third line farther than the Visitation of the North gives it, but the reference to Lord Darcy of Chiche is not quite correct. Probably Clarencieux has omitted by accident the Harle(s)ton marriage, which the Visitation of the North has. According to *Harleian MS.* 1535, f. 195<sup>v</sup>, William of Essex married a daughter of John Harleston. An heiress of Harleston of Suffolk is in the ancestry of Lord Darcy, but no Lee marriage with that family is elsewhere recorded, although one of their Suffolk manors had belonged to Lees as early as 1301 (*Harl. Soc.* xiii. 45; W. A. Copinger, *Manors of Suffolk*, i. 196). The fourth line has some support from the Visitation of the North. Roger Lee of Lichfield was Master of St. Mary's Gild there in 1485 and still alive in 1492 (Harwood, 406, 408). Thomas Lee of Clattercote died in 1572, and Richard Lee of Wybunbury stood in remainder to some of his land (2 *Gen.* xi. 26; xiii. 124). There were Rollestons of Swarkeston and the Ley. A compiled pedigree belonging to a member of the family gives an Isabel, daughter of Thomas, who may be the same as Elizabeth, but with a husband other than Thomas Lee. There were Bulls of Sheldon (*Harl. Soc.* lxii. 28), to whom Eleanor may have belonged. And one may suppose Clarencieux to have been at least familiar with his own immediate connexions. The weak point in the pedigree as a whole is the discrepancy as regards age between the generations of the fifth and also, it must be admitted, the fourth line on the one hand, and the first and



second lines on the other. Thus Benedict Lee, who died, no doubt an old man, in 1476, appears as the contemporary of his great-great-nephew. It is not inconceivable, of course, but one cannot help feeling a suspicion that the Benett and Frances of Clarencieux's second generation may be ghost-doublets of the Benett and Frances of his third, and that Benedict of Quarrendon may really have been a son and not a brother of Henry of Aston. And it must be observed that although the Visitation of the North has Henry, it has no Benett or Frances.

Again, the evidence of armorial bearings must be considered. Lee of Wybunbury seems to have borne *Argent, a chevron between 3 leopards' faces sable* (*Coll. Arms*, R.R. 39<sup>c</sup>; *Harl. MS.* 5804, f. 144<sup>v</sup>; Clarencieux). It is the first of six quarters tricked for this house in *Harl. MS.* 1535, f. 195<sup>v</sup>. The chevron is variously given as plain and engrailed, gules and sable. Modifications for cadet branches may be involved. Ormerod gives *Argent, a fess between 3 leopards' faces sable*, but this also is probably in reality a derivative. The same fess coat, with a crescent for cadency, appears for a London Lee, said to come from Enfield, Staffs (*Harl. Soc.* i. 56); and leopard's faces, in various combinations, were also used by Lees of Herts (5 *Misc. Gen. et Hen.* iii. 65) and Kent (*Arch. Cant.* xl. 94), by a Lee of London who came from Cheshire (*Harl. Soc.* lxvi. 152; lxxvii. 135), by Lee of Clattercote (*Addl. MS.* 16940, f. 16), and by Lee of North Aston, Oxon (*Harl. Soc.* v. 133), who combined them with crescents. Two Lee families at High Leigh, Cheshire, bore, with different tinctures *A lion rampant* (*Harl. Soc.* xviii. 144, 154). They may have had some remote connexion with Lee of Wybunbury, but in Cheshire 'Lees are as common as fleas'. Clarencieux ascribes to Lee of Stafford, in the descent from Henry of Aston, *Argent, a fess between 3 crescents sable*, and these were borne by Clarencieux himself (M. Noble, *College of Arms*, 170) with a *fleur-de-lis gules* for cadency. This also is an old Lee coat. It was borne in the fourteenth century by a Mons. Wauter de la Leey (T. Willement, *Roll of Arms*, 448) and a variant belongs to Lee of Wylam, Northumberland (2 *Gen.* viii. 183).

It is not quite clear what arms Benedict of Quarrendon used. The Lichfield pedigree says that they were his father's with an







annulet for a fifth son's cadency. But it also agrees with the Ditchley pedigree in giving beneath his wife's name *Argent, a fess between 3 leopard's faces langued gules*. This bearing was also ascribed to Wood of Warwickshire by Burke, somewhat inconsistently with another assignment to that family (cf. p. 260), and also by Sir Charles Young, Garter (W. H. Smyth, *Additions to Aedes Hartwellianae*, 133), in interpreting Sir Henry Lee's final coat. In *Harleian MS.* 1535, however, it is tricked under Benedict's own name and not his wife's, and it is difficult to think that it is anything but a variant of the Wybunbury coat. Richard Lee (*Ditchley; Lichfield; Harl. MS.* 1535) *mutavit insignia*, adopting *Argent, a fess between 3 crescents sable*, and this was borne, with a mullet for a third son's cadency, by a Lee of London, who claimed descent from his son Henry (*Thornton; Harl. Soc.* xvii. 55; lvi. 240; cf. Table V). It is, however, the leopard coat which is impaled on Richard's widow's monument by that of her second husband John Clerk (App. G). This is odd heraldry; a man does not normally so use his predecessor's arms. J. H. Lea (2 *Gen.* xii. 187) suggested that two John Clerks married two Joan Lees, of different generations. But there is no daughter Joan in Benedict Lee's will, or Richard's. Sir Robert Lee made another change, obtaining a grant from Thomas Wriothesley, Garter, and Thomas Benolt, Clarencieux, which is dated by F. G. Lee, who claimed to possess the original, on 8 April 1513 (*Bucks. Records*, iv. 189; *Her. and Gen.* iii. 118), but elsewhere (*Harl. Soc.* lxvi. 152) on 18 August 1530. The arms are given as follows: *D'argent a une fece d'asur entre trois testes de licorne rasee de sable, sur la fece trois lis d'or.*

A son tymbre ung laneret dor, ses esles, becque et membre de gueules, saississant et repaissant sur une jambe de heron azur, assiz sur une torse d'argent et du pourpre, mantelle de gueules double d'argent.

The crest is also given for Lee of Quarrendon in Thomas Wall's *Book of Crestes* (1530, *Ancestor*, xii. 68), although here the heron is called an eagle.

It is difficult to say what arms Anthony Lee bore, since his monument was erected at the end of his son's lifetime, and the coat then borne by Sir Henry himself was used. But Cooke of Linstead, one of his sons-in-law, impaled (W. C. Metcalfe,



*Vis. of Suffolk*, 19) the crescent arms, quartered with *Argent*, on a fess between 3 unicorns' heads erased sable as many trefoils slipped or, evidently a variant of the lily arms. His son Robert adopted (*J. Hunter, South Yorks.* i. 177) another variant, *Argent*, on a fess azure between 3 unicorns heads erased sable as many paunsye flowers proper. But in the Quarrendon glass (p. 302) he and all his brothers are given the crescent arms.

The arms of Benedict Lee of Hulcott, the second son of Richard, are rather puzzling. Browne Willis (*MS.* iv. 67) found in the glass of Hulcott church three coats—

(a) *Argent*, a fess between 3 leopards' faces.

(b) On a chevron between 3 lilies a Roman T between 2 ploughshares sable.

(c) *Argent*, a chevron between 3 bulls' heads.

As if beneath these he noted a fragmentary inscription *Aiabus bndm'*. No doubt the second word was really for *Benedicti*. Under the window was a marble altar tomb. Brasses with figures of a man, woman, and child, and an inscription, had gone, but there remained two coats:

(i) the lily coat of the window, impaling its bull's head coat.

(ii) the leopard's face coat, impaling *Six martlets*, 3, 2, and 1.

These brasses and the window have also now gone. But no doubt they were memorials of Benedict. The martlet arms are those of his first wife's family, the Clarells. Presumably, therefore, he himself bore the fess and leopard's faces. The other coats are more uncertain. Chevrons with bull's heads were borne by families of Saunders in Surrey (*Harl. Soc.* xliii. 18, 29, 50, 53), but with different tinctures; and Saunders of Banbury, from whom came Richard Lee's wife, bore, as we have seen (p. 252) *Argent*, a lion rampant azure within a bordure of the second fleurdelisee or. Burke gives the *Argent*, a chevron between 3 bulls' heads cabossed sable to Wood of Warwickshire, and this is confirmed by collections of Nicholas Charles and others in *Harl. MSS.* 1353, f. 9, 1563, f. 1, 6060, f. 19, which may be from the Warwickshire Visitation of 1563. If so, the second shield on the tomb should represent Benedict Lee's marriage to Elizabeth Wood. But did he then really bear a lily coat, represented in his grandson's? The only hints of a confirmation are in an ascription to 'Leys' in Glover's *Ordinary of Sable*, on a chevron or between 3 lilies argent, 2 scythe-blades crossing each other





at the points of the first, and in the arms of Sir James Lee of Aston, claiming descent from Lee of Wybunbury (Table VI), which Clarendieux gives as *Sable, a scythe argent*. The heraldic scythe might easily be confused with a ploughshare. The 'Roman T' of Browne Willis, an uncommon charge, more properly called a Tau cross, is not in the 'Leys' coat. It does, however, occur in a quartering of Lee of Wybunbury (*Harl. MS.* 1535, f. 195<sup>v</sup>), *Or, on a chevron azure, 3 Tau crosses argent*.

Benedict of Hulcott may have been archaically minded in his earlier years. Later, he or his line seem to have used the arms both of his father, which indeed may have been somewhere on his tomb, and of his brother. On the monument of his son Sir Robert at Hardwick are the fess and crescents, impaling Pigott (*Browne Willis MS.* lxxviii. 61). His son-in-law Edward Tyrrell quartered the lilies and unicorns with the leopards' faces (*Queen's, Oxford, MS.* cxxxii, f. 13). Arthur Goodday, who married a granddaughter of Roger of Pitstone, also impaled the leopards' faces, but with a gules, not a sable, fess (*Harl. Soc.* xiii. 203). The arms of Lee of Binfield in the seventeenth century (cf. p. 253) were taken from those of their cousins at Quarrendon.

And now for Sir Henry himself. Against his name on the scoring sheet for the tilt of 1571 (cf. p. 134) the heralds drew two distinct coats, one with the crescent and the other with the unicorn and lily arms (*Bodl. Ashm. MS.* 845, f. 164). A seal on a letter of 1580 has the leopards' faces quartering the unicorns and lilies (*Dillon Notes*, G. 93). It must, however, have been the latter that he used as his chief bearing during the greater part of his life, for they alone appear upon the monument for his wife in Aylesbury Church, which is dated '1584' (p. 77). But later he changed them, probably, one may conjecture, at the time of his advancement to the Garter, which appears to be also the time at which Clarendieux's pedigree was worked out. The crescents appear by themselves in the east window at Quarrendon, but they are only the first bearing of an elaborate eight-quarter or sometimes seven-quarter coat, which is found alike on his Garter stall-plate at Windsor (*H. and G.* iii. 120), in his book of Garter rules (*Dillon Notes*, W. 155), on another seal at Ditchley (imprint in *Bodleian MS. Top. Bucks.* c. 4, f. 86<sup>v</sup>), on his monument and his father's



(App. G), and with appropriate marks of cadency for his brothers Robert, Thomas, Cromwell, and Richard in the Quarrendon window (*ibid.*). Why Richard's coat has no mark of bastardy I do not know, but so it is. The coat is as follows:

1 and 8. *Argent, a fess between 3 crescents sable*; 2. *Gules, a lion rampant argent with a mullet for cadency*; 3. *Argent, a fess between 3 leopards' faces sable*; 4. *Azure, an escutcheon ermine within an orle of estoiles or*; 5. *Vert, 2 wolves passant in pale or*; 6. *Argent, a fess between 3 unicorns' heads erased sable*; 7. *Argent, a lion rampant azure within a bordure of the second fleur-de-lisee or.*

The drawings by Charles of the arms at Quarrendon give both Anthony and Henry the crest granted to Robert, which for Anthony is placed on a wreath and for Henry on a pillar (cf. p. 138) rising out of a coronet. Henry has the motto *Fide et Constantia*, and as a Knight of the Garter supporters, *Two lions rampant ermine, tailed argent and sable, with collars argent bearing crescents sable.*

The origin of some of Henry's quarterings is obscure. Clearly 1 and 8 are his great-grandfather's, 6 a variant of his grandfather's, 3 for Lee of Wybunbury, and 7 for Saunders of Oxfordshire. Possibly 2 is intended to claim a connexion with remoter families of Lee or Leigh in Cheshire, two of whom at High Leigh bore lions rampant with other tinctures (*Harl. Soc.* xviii. 144, 154). Or Lee may have thought in error (cf. p. 260) that his Wood great-great-grandmother was descended from a John atte Wode, to whom Willement's *Roll* gives *Gules, a lion rampant queue forchée argent*. The double tail does not usually appear in his coat, but it is in the drawing by Charles of the Garter version above his Quarrendon monument, and also in Anthony's, preserved at Hartwell, although not in Charles's drawing of that (cf. pp. 304, 307). For 4 and 5 I can find no plausible source. There are arms of Stanhope not unlike 5, and those of Wickham of Oxfordshire, and to a less extent those of Chamberlain of Shirburn in Oxfordshire are not unlike 4. But in neither case is a link with Lees traceable. A quartering of Lee of Wybunbury (*Harl. MS.* 1535, f. 195<sup>v</sup>), was apparently *Or, two boars passant en pale sable*. But boars are not wolves.

Attempts have been made (*Bodl. Browne Willis MS.* iv. 8; Jordan, *Hist. of Enstone*, 90, 92; 2 *Gen.* xiii. 230) to find a Lee in a knight whose effigy, now in Aylesbury Church, has on the





*gipon* of the armour a much worn coat which looks like *A fess dancetty between 3 leopards' faces*. It was so tricked by Nicholas Charles about 1611 (*Lansd. MS.* 874, f. 34<sup>v</sup>), with for crest, *A dog's head muzzled, erased*. The coat might, of course, be a modification of that of Lee of Wybunbury. But antiquaries (*Hist. Mon. Bucks.* i. 27) date the workmanship *c.* 1390, and we do not know of Lees at Quarrendon as early as that. Nor do we know that the effigy came from Quarrendon. It is said to have been found near the site of a Franciscan friary in Aylesbury. Poultney of Langley, Bucks, bore *Argent, a fess dancetty gules, in chief 3 leopards' faces sable* (*Harl. Soc.* lviii. 102), and the coat might also derive from this. There were Poultneys or Pulteneys in the fourteenth century at Waddesdon near Aylesbury (*V. H. Bucks.* iv. 112).

I think there can be no doubt that Sir Henry meant, in his Garter arms, to assert an origin from Lee of Cheshire. So far as the evidence now available goes, the alleged descent would be more plausible, if it made Benedict Lee a grandson and not a son of John of Wybunbury, through Henry of Aston in Staffordshire, to whom Clarencieux ascribes the crescent arms which he himself bore. Some confirmation of this may be found in the burial (App. B) of Benedict's parents at Sutton, which is probably Sutton Coldfield, on the border of Staffordshire and Warwickshire and near Lichfield. It would fit in also (cf. p. 257) with the dates for Benedict, as compared with those for the main Wybunbury line. But it must be borne in mind that many Lees are traceable in Staffordshire, and in particular near Lichfield (Harwood, 218, 234, 324, 389, 402, 408, 412, 413), who do not all come into the pedigree constructed by Clarencieux. They are found in the county as far back as the thirteenth century, long before the assumed migration from Cheshire. How far they are all represented by the distinct house of Leigh of Rushall (*W. Salt. Soc.* iii. 2. 101), I do not know. Dugdale (ed. 2), 666, gives a John Lee of Warwick as alive in 1422. So far as dates go, he might be Benedict's father, but he could hardly be John of Wybunbury, unless it was that John's birth which Ormerod meant to date in 1348-9.



## APPENDIX B

### WILL OF BENEDICT LEE OF QUARRENDON

[1476, September 7, from *Prerogative Court of Canterbury*, 26 *Wattys*.]

IN dei nomine, Amen. Septimo die mensis Septembris Anno domini millesimo cccc<sup>mo</sup> lxx<sup>mo</sup> sexto. Ego Benedictus Leigh de Warwicko compos mentis et sana existens memoria condo praesens testamentum meum in hunc modum. In primis lego animam meam deo omnipotenti beataeque Mariae matri eius et omnibus sanctis. Corpusque meum ad sepeliendum in ecclesia sancti Nicholai Warwick inter lampadem et Imaginem sanctae Crucis. Item lego autentico Altari et aliis iiij<sup>or</sup> altaribus in memorata ecclesia existentibus cuilibet eorum iij<sup>s</sup> iiij<sup>d</sup>. Item lego ad reparationem parietis cimiterii et pro nouo pulpito faciendo ante Crucem in dicto Cimiterio xx<sup>li</sup> et omnes lapides de meis propriis expensis vehentur. Item lego eidem ecclesiae duas virgatas terrae quae iacent in Campis de Halforde quarum redditus annuatim est xij<sup>s</sup> iiij<sup>d</sup>. Item lego eidem ecclesiae iiij<sup>or</sup> virgatas terrae quae iacent in Campis de Scatesfeld quarum redditus est annuatim l s. Item lego duodecim inopibus duodecim togas nigras. Item lego duodecim tortas quae ardebunt circa loculum meum et cuilibet Inopum qui tenent tortas habebunt iiij<sup>d</sup> et cuilibet presbiterorum existentium ad exequias meas xij<sup>d</sup> et quilibet puer habens suppellicium iiij<sup>d</sup> et omnes alii utriusque sexus j<sup>d</sup>. Item lego xl lb. Cerae ad ardendum circa corpus meum. Item lego omnibus ecclesiis citra villam de Aylesbury et hanc villam per spacium unius miliaris undique iuxta stratam vj<sup>s</sup> viij<sup>d</sup>. Item legoatrici ecclesiae de Berton xx<sup>s</sup>. Item lego vicario eiusdem ecclesiae vj<sup>s</sup> viij<sup>d</sup> et ad festum sancti Michaelis Archangeli debeo praefato vicario x<sup>s</sup>. Item lego fratribus sanctae Mariae de Aylesbury v<sup>li</sup>. Item lego ecclesiae meae parochiali de Quarendon xl marcas. Item lego Rogero filio meo magnam placeam in Warwick quae vocatur Benettes place et unam placeam in Coton cum omnibus suis pertinentiis post decessum uxoris meae. Item lego Ricardo filio meo meam placeam in Quarendon post decessum meum cum omnibus terris pratis pascuis et pasturis uti evidenciae meae faciunt mencionem. Item lego





Edwardo filio meo meam placeam in Merston cum omnibus suis pertinentiis. Item lego Johanni filio meo vnam placeam in Walton vocatum Bevers iuxta Aylesbury. Item lego Ricardo et Edwardo filiis meis unum aquaticum molendinum apud Wedon<sup>1</sup> dividendum inter ipsos equaliter post decessum uxoris meae et per benedictionem meam prohibeo quod non obsint suae matri contra meum preceptum. Item lego vicario ecclesiae Sancti Nicholai praedictae xx<sup>s</sup>. Item lego Johanni Manton parochiali presbitero antedictae ecclesiae xl<sup>s</sup>. Item lego ad emendacionem altae viae inter Coton et Wotton xx<sup>s</sup>. Item lego pro pulsatore campanarum ecclesiae Sanctae Mariae Warwick iij<sup>s</sup> iiij<sup>d</sup>. Item lego pro pulsatoribus campanarum ecclesiae Sancti Nicholai iij<sup>s</sup> iiij<sup>d</sup>. Item lego xl libras cum praedictis vj virgatis terrae pro stipendio unius presbiteri qui celebrabit missam in praedicta ecclesia Sancti Nicholai pro salute animae meae cum qua quidem firma pecuniarum xl<sup>li</sup> volo quod Edwardus et Ricardus filii mei impetrabunt terras vel tementa prout eis melius videbitur expedire Ita ut precepta mea sint rata et grata. Item lego ecclesiae de Sutton pro stipendio unius presbiteri qui ibidem celebrabit pro animabus parentum meorum et pro animae meae benevolencia viij marcas. Item lego sex inopibus sex nigras togas in villa de Sutton. Item lego ecclesiae de Sutton praedictae integrum sacerdotale vestimentum et unum corporale pro praedicto meo presbitero ibidem. Item lego inopibus de Sutton pro mea elemosina vj<sup>s</sup> viij<sup>d</sup>. Item lego Elizabethae filiae meae xxx.<sup>li</sup> Item lego Annae filiae meae xxx<sup>li</sup>. Item lego quinque filiis meis c<sup>li</sup> dividendas inter illos per equales porciones. Item lego et volo quod uxor mea solvet seu solvi faciet famulis meis sua stipendia vivaciter cum remuneracione per visum executorum meorum. Item lego Willelmo Wastell xx<sup>s</sup> ultra suum stipendium. Item lego Johanni Milner v marcas. Item lego Johanni Preste xx<sup>s</sup>. Item lego Elizabethae Legh uxori meae cccc marcas et omnia superlectilia domus meae. Et si contingat quod Edwardus Legh primogenitus filius meus obierit sine herede de corpore suo legitime procreato sive procreando tunc placea mea in Merston praedicta remaneat Ricardo Leigh filio meo et heredibus suis. At etiam in simili casu si contingat quod praedictus Ricardus Leigh filius meus obierit sine herede de corpore suo legitime

<sup>1</sup> Hedon in P.C.C. transcript.



procreato sive procreando tunc placea mea in Quarendone praedicta descendat Johanni filio meo et heredibus suis. Et si contingat quod Johannes Leigh filius meus obierit sine herede de corpore suo legitime procreato sive procreando tunc placea mea in Aylesbury predicta remaneat Rogero Leigh filio meo et heredibus suis. Preterea si contingat quod Rogerus filius meus obierit sine herede de corpore suo legitime procreato sive procreando, tunc due meae placeae in Warwick praedictae remaneant dictis Edwardo et Ricardo filiis meis et heredibus eorum. At etiam praecipio omnibus filiis meis quatenus praeceptum meum seruent in omnibus sine aliqua discordia vel turbacione et super benedictionem meam omnia impleant integra quae in hoc meo testamento et ultima mea voluntate notantur sicut coram summo Iudice in die examinis respondebunt. Insuper vero residuum omnium bonorum meorum non legatorum volo ordino et constituo Elizabetham uxorem meam Willelmum Foxe et Ricardum Leigh meos veros executores ut ipsi disponant pro salute animae meae prout eis melius expedire videbitur et deo placere.

Probate 20 Sept. 1476 to widow Elizabeth and Richard Leigh. Reservata potestate [for William Foxe].





## APPENDIX C

### LEE'S NEW YEAR GIFTS TO ELIZABETH

[From New Year Rolls in *Chancery Miscellanea*, 3. 39 (1577) and *Egerton MS.* 3052 (1584); the rest from similar rolls and Jewel Office lists in J. Nichols, *Progresses of Elizabeth*<sup>2</sup> (1823), ii. 1, 75, 258, 289, 301, 388, 397, 427, 452, 499.]

1576. A booke of golde, with leaves in it of paper and parchement to write in.
1577. A cap of vellate, w<sup>t</sup> xlvij pece of gold haveinge carven hedd.
1578. A juell, beinge a garlande of golde with leaves, and the walnutts in the myddes, with a butterfly pendant of sparks of ophalls and rubyes.
1579. A juell of golde, beinge a faire emeraude, cut lozanged hartwise.
1580. A bodkyn of golde, thende garnished with small diamonds.
1581. A launce-staff of goulde, sett with sparkes of dyamondes and rubyes.
1582. Two serpents of golde knytt together, with three very smale perles hanging at it.
1583. A bodkin of golde, the topp therof a hand holding a buckler, garnished with very smale sparcks of diamonds.
1584. A smale Bottle of aygattes garnished w<sup>t</sup> gold and smale sparkes of Rubyes and Dyamondes hanging by a smale chayne of golde lykewise garnished.
1585. A bodkin of golde, with a pendant, being a hunter's horne, and a buck in the midst of it, garnished with sparks of dyamondes and opaules on thone side, with a very little perle pendant.
1586. One cabinet of ebiney, with three borders of sylver, wrought with an antycke<sup>1</sup> hedde, and the cover garnished with sylver, wrought fyne with green wrought velvatt.
1587. Twoe bodkins of golde, thone a flye, thother a spyder, the spider's body being a perle and a sparke of a rubye, the fly garnished with sparks of dyamondes.

<sup>1</sup> an antycke] *ex. conj.* a wytcke *Nichols*.



## APPENDIX D

### THE DITCHLEY MANUSCRIPT

[The *Ditchley MS.* is now *British Museum Additional MS.* 41499 A. It was presented by the late Lord Dillon of Ditchley, Oxfordshire, together with *Additional MS.* 41499 B, which is a partial modern transcript, and *Additional MS.* 41498, a copy of the verse and one prose passage from Sidney's earlier *Arcadia*, preserved in a cover bearing the inverted inscription 'Sir Henry Lee delivered being champean to the qwene delivered to my lord cwmblerla(n)d deli by willeam simons', which suggests that it once contained matter belonging to the tilt of 1590. *Additional MS.* 41499 A is imperfect. It consists of 22 folio leaves, probably once half-sheets, as ff. 11 and 12 are still conjugate. There are *lacunae* between f. 3 and f. 4, f. 7 and f. 8, and f. 15 and f. 16, and f. 10 is only represented by tiny scraps. The greater part of the text is in a single sixteenth-century hand, not that of Sir Henry Lee. The constant omissions of small words show that it is a transcript. The items do not appear to be in chronological order. Some of them were also found in a volume of collections by Henry Ferrers of Baddesley Clinton in Warwickshire, and were printed by William Hamper, who owned the volume, as *Masques: Performed before Queen Elizabeth* (1820), and from the same setting of type in his *Kenilworth Illustrated* (1821). He thought that they might be by George Ferrers (1500?-79), who was lord of misrule at court in 1551, and contributed to the *Mirror of Magistrates* and to the Kenilworth entertainment of 1575. He was, however, of a Hertfordshire family, not known to be related to that of Baddesley Clinton. Hamper's MS. is not now known, but his texts were reproduced by John Nichols in the second edition (1823) of his *Progresses of Queen Elizabeth*, iii. 193, and again by R. W. Bond, in his edition (1902) of John Lyly (i. 412, 454), whose style he thought he found in them. Two of the Ditchley pieces are in *Inner Temple Petyt MS.* 538/43, f. 299, where they form part of a small collection, which includes some poems of the Countess of Pembroke, sent by Sir John Harington (1561-1612) to Lucy, Countess of Bedford, and one of these is also in *The Phoenix Nest* (1593). I can make nothing of two series of marginal numbers, in pencil and possibly modern, against some only of the pieces. They run respectively from 20 to 36, with a gap for the last *lacuna*, and from P. 154 to 200, with several gaps. They seem to represent a collation, but of what I do not know; not Hamper, Nichols, or Bond.

Lord Dillon (*Notes*, W. 146) describes the following literary manuscripts as also preserved at Ditchley.

- (a) A discourse of arms and martial matters in a dialogue between Ricardo and Allonso, with mentions of Lee, Sir John Smith, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, and Sir William Norris as 'loose from Charge'.
- (b) Orations by Philoxenis and Agamus (perhaps part of a).
- (c) *The Model of Poesy*, dedicated to Lee by William Scott.





- (d) A translation of Du Bartas, *The First Day of the Week*, dedicated by William Scott to his uncle George Wyatt.  
 (e) A book of Epistles.

An account of the present MS. by Clifford Leech is in the *Modern Language Review*, xxx (1935), 52. I here give brief notes of its items, and deal more fully with those belonging to the entertainment of 1592 in Appendix E.]

- (i) f. 1. 'A Cartell for a Challenge.'

Three unknown Knights will defend the cause that Love is worse than Hate, and that 'ther is a Ladye that scornes Loue & his power, of more virtue & greater beawtie then all the Amorous Dames that be at this daye in the world'.

Prose, also in the *Hamper MS.*, and undatable.

- (ii) f. 1. 'S<sup>r</sup> H Lees Challenge before Shampanie.'

The Strange Knight, who wars against hope and fortune, will maintain under the hue of green, so far as his posting horse gives him leave, the cause of the Servants of Despair.

Prose, also in *Hamper MS.* Lee was a Green Knight in 1571 and 1576. The visit in which M. de Champagny saw him tilt was that of 1576 (cf. p. 134).

- (iii) ff. 1, 1<sup>v</sup>. 'The Supplicacōn of the old Knight.'

A Knight, disabled by age, yet once the first Celebrator of 'this Englishe holliday or rather Englandes happie daye', asks the tilters to accept 'in his fathers rome this only sonne of myne', and, lest he should forfeit his tenure of the day's honouring, begs that one of them will present 'this litle' to the queen, as the yearly fine of his faith.

Prose, also in *Hamper MS.* This is clearly for an Accession Day, later than 1590, possibly (cf. p. 149) that of 1593.

- (iv) ff. 1<sup>v</sup>, 2. 'The message of the damsell of the Q of fayries.'

The damsell offers a Cupid in gold and stone on behalf of an Enchanted Knight.

Prose, also in *Hamper MS.* This was delivered not long after the first Accession tilt, and not far from the place of it; possibly, therefore (cf. pp. 84, 133), at Woodstock in 1572, with Edward Dyer as its subject.



(v) ff. 2-3<sup>v</sup>. [No heading.]

A prose speech by a hermit to the Queen, on behalf of a body of country folk; led by a Knight clownishly clad. The Knight had set his eyes at court on an incomparable jewel, which he could not obtain, but which might be looked on by all who brought 'the placarde of good deserte'. He was stricken a blow of disgrace and joined the hermit, once his companion in court, but now by reason of years cast into contemplation. The hermit preached to him on the instability of court life, where only the mistress was such as could make a man tarry in it, and described his own blow from the Serpent of Wrong, winged with envy and slander. The Knight rode into the wilderness, and came on the country folk, who addressed him as C.H. and asked his aid against wrong. He went and dwelt in a little lodge by them. They learnt of the festival of 17 November, which the Knight must attend, having vowed to tilt so long as he could sit on a horse and bear a staff. They desired to go too, and pulled the hermit out of doors to go with them. He hopes they may run 'if they cannot the Tilth, yet at lest at the Qui(n)tyne'. I cannot date this. Among known tilters are Charles Howard, who was knighted in 1570 or 1571 and became Lord Howard in January 1573, and Christopher Hatton, who was knighted in November 1577, and perhaps would not tilt after he became Lord Chancellor in April 1587.

(vi) ff. 4-5<sup>v</sup>. [No heading.]

This is a fragment of the entertainment (cf. p. 84) of 1575. It begins, after a *lacuna* in the MS., at much the same point as sign. B 1 of the imperfect print of 1585, with the words 'with me, that will most behoue you', gives the hermit's tale, and ends with a 'Finis' after his speech at the entrance to the banquetting house (sign. B 4<sup>v</sup>). The descriptive passages of the reporter of 1585 are omitted, and there are many small textual variants. The hermit is not called Hemetes. The lady is Gaudina or Graudina, and once Gandina, as in Gascoigne, not Caudina, as in part of the print of 1585. Sibilla has a 'grott', which is more plausible than the 'grate' of 1585.

(vii) f. 6. 'Written at the erle of Arundels desier at his challenge: Callophissus.'





Callophissus presents a pair of compasses to the Queen, and a prize for the best tilter against him.

Prose. In the margin is a drawing of a horn. Philip Howard, Earl of Arundel, issued, as Callophissus, a challenge on 6 January 1581, which was fought on 22 January (Holinshed<sup>2</sup>, iii. 1315; W. Segar, *Honor, Military and Civil*, 194, from *The Book of Honour and Arms*, 95). Lee was not one of the combatants. Some further challenges in *Lansdowne MS.* 99, f. 259 (printed in *Malone Society Collections*, i. 181) probably relate to the same tilt, although they contemplate an issue on Candlemas. The date given for one of them is obscure, and might be '1580', '1587', '1589', but '1580', i.e. 1580/1, alone would fit Arundel's history, and no one else would take his name of Callophissus.

(viii) f. 6. '17 Nouembris 1584.'

1. The bold beseacher nedinge to beware  
the penn past feare, the herald of the mynd  
of blynd, and dooñe, bewraies the case & Care  
by silent Vttraunce, thus to saye assignd.
2. Most fayer, & sweet, most precious & deuyne  
of most desyred & full of most delight  
to make both blynd & doñe the power is thyne  
best flower of flowers, that growes both red and white.
3. This knight made blynd, & I made doñe you see  
proue thus thy power, of sweet receauinge smarts  
but sith to vertue, grace doth more agree,  
now helpe o<sup>r</sup> happs, thou M<sup>es</sup> of o<sup>r</sup> harts.  
thou mayst we praye, & so shall serue the flower  
that maks her vertue, thus to passe her power.

From the first sacrifice of a broken launce in the honor of the remembraunce of this most happie daye, to the most honored owner of all trew englishe harts, for whose perpetuall obseruation he prayeth euerie daye.

A description of the tilt of 17 November 1584 by Lupold von Wedel (*Elizabethan Stage*, i. 143) does not name Lee.

(ix) ff. 6<sup>v</sup>, 7. [No heading.]

Prose speech to the Queen on the day of honour for wandering Knights, who are accompanied by a Black Knight who tilted



the year before, has since been with a hermit, and now returns 'in new habite'. It is not datable.

(x) ff. 7, 7<sup>v</sup>. [No heading.]

Prose speech for two Knights, who went to the Temple of Peace, but fell out by the way, and were sent by the high priest to the island called Terra Benedicta, where a queen reigns. There they must deliver their spears and shields and then run six courses with the lance and exchange ten blows with the sword, and so secure admission to the Temple. Three short speeches follow, to be spoken at the delivery of the shields, after the running on the first day, and after the tourney. This too is undatable, and possibly (viii), (ix), and (x) may all belong to 1584.

(xi) f. 7<sup>v</sup>. [No heading.]

A note of alternative Latin phrases suitable for devices. One is Seneca's 'Curae leves loquuntur, ingentes stupent' (*Phaedra*, 607), and possibly the note is related to (xii).

(xii) f. 7<sup>v</sup>. 'A remembrance of Sir Ph: Sidnie Knight the 17<sup>th</sup> Nou' 1586 in the 29 yeare of her ma<sup>ties</sup> most gracious raigne.'

the first

Tres fuimus fido coniunti foedere, quorum  
vnus dum patriae, diueque in principis Armis  
occidit: hec nobis celebranda trophae<a> reliquit.

the second

Nos quibus heroici lacrimabile funus amici  
instar mortis erit: dum speritus hos regit artus  
illius annuali (animali *MS.*) meritum referemus honore.

vpon the morning horse

Qui dominum ostratus rutilantem ferre solebam,  
nunc pullus domini funera porto mei.

(xiii) ff. 8, 8<sup>v</sup>. [Heading, if any, lost.]

The end of a discourse on country life, written, presumably to Layius (Lee), 'from my Istmus this 3 Kallendes (*Kallendel MS.*) of October 1575', with a postscript introducing these verses, which echo Seneca, *Thyestes*, 336 *sqq.*:





A match for saints and higher much is he  
 then mortall folck, for light desyer or fear,  
 that neyther seeks nor shonnes the fast decree  
 of certeyne death vncertayne to vs hear

whome no Ambition wiche we cannot brack  
 nor hungrie hope of lukar doth intice  
 whom hasty threats of princes cannot shack  
 nor feare nor stroack of angrie Joue for vice.

but euer constant in a settled place,  
 doth scorne the toyes of all the comon route  
 who void of care when Phebus shewes his face  
 doth slepe Secure, when he is falne about.

And if I might according to my will  
 deuise a lyfe that wold content me best  
 No mase for pompe nor riches seed of ill  
 wold I desier, nor be tryumphant drest

On gennets whit to drawe the captyues bound (*band MS.*)  
 but I my home in place vnknowne wold chuse  
 and saffe possest, in gardens & my ground  
 in noyse of springes & muses studies vse.

So when my last & fatall thrid wer sponne  
 by Lachesis (*Lathasis MS.*) or rather god did call:  
 and shew my date of mortall lyfe wer done  
 Vngreuous then and harmeles vnto all.

As Layius heare my friend I gladly wold  
 die well to god, a priuat (*great MS.*) man & old: finis.

(xiv) ff. 8<sup>v</sup>, 9. [No heading.]

Prose speech by the servant of a solitary Knight, who dwells in a high place hard by, inviting a lady to restore to concord two Knights, whose conflicts make the trees forbear to leaf themselves. The elder, through self-love, defies love, the younger superstitiously adores it. Subscribed initials are read by Lord Dillon as 'I: g', but by Mr. H. J. M. Milne as 'G. g'. This might be George Gascoigne, who, dedicating his translations of the Tale of Hemetes (cf. p. 84) to the Queen in 1576, said that he would no longer be 'Gascoigne the ydle poett, wryting tryfles



of the green knight'. Lee had tilted (cf. pp. 134, 269) as the Green Knight, but there are poems on the same theme in Gascoigne's *Poesies* (1575, ed. Cunliffe, 367-82) which do not obviously relate to him. The 'high place' was perhaps the High Lodge in Woodstock Park.

(xv) f. 9<sup>v</sup>. 'Pers passer y<sup>e</sup> pedler', and in margin, '⟨The⟩ pedlers ⟨t⟩ale at her m<sup>t</sup>ies being at heneage house.'

Prose, but fragmentary, f. 10 being practically gone. The pedlar is bidden to open his pack. He commends the virtues of the tongue, and begins a description of his travels in Greece. Elizabeth visited Sir Thomas Heneage at Heneage House in Bevis Marks, London, during January or February 1584 (*Elizabethan Stage*, iv. 100).

(xvi) ff. 11, 11<sup>v</sup>. [Heading lost.]

Prose speech, much mutilated. Probably it began at the top of f. 11, with 'Gentlemen', which stands in a fragmentary line. It must be distinct from (xv), as it contemplates a combat, which could hardly be at a house in the city. The speaker seems to be a shepherd, and refers to his 'native place', and to the Queen, who 'at this day was borne'. Elizabeth's birthday was on 7 September. I know no record of a tilt on that day. She was often on progress in September. There were speeches by shepherds during a visit to Lord Chandos at Sudeley in 1592, but that visit only began on 9 September (*Elizabethan Stage*, iv. 66, 107).

(xvii) f. 11<sup>v</sup>. 'Elisae.'

The Latin inscription on the crowned pillar (p. 138) of 1590, with slight variants from Segar's version.

(xviii) f. 11<sup>v</sup>. 'Epilogus Caesaris interfecti.'

A Latin prose speech, printed also by F. Peck in *A Collection of Curious Historical Pieces*, appended to his *Memoirs of Cromwell* (1740), and by F. S. Boas, *University Drama in the Tudor Age* (1914), 163, from *Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon.*, c. 5, f. 359, where it is ascribed to Richard Edes (cf. p. 276), and said to have been written and spoken by him at Ch. Ch. Oxford. A later hand has added the date '1582' in the *Bodl. MS.*, and tragedies are recorded during February 1582 in the Ch. Ch. accounts.





(xix-xxx) ff. 12-16. '1592 September 20.'

These items all belong to Lee's entertainment of 1592 (App. E), q.v.

(xxxi) ff. 16<sup>v</sup>-22<sup>v</sup>. 'The Zealous Man's Tears.'

A sermon 'at court', which Mr. H. J. M. Milne kindly informs me is clearly in the style of Richard Edes, *Six Learned and Godly Sermons* (1604). The hand is different from that of the rest of the MS.



## APPENDIX E

### THE DITCHLEY ENTERTAINMENT

[This is here, for the first time, printed in its entirety. There are four sources:

- (a) The *Ditchley MS.* (*D*) alone preserves (i), (iii), (iv), (v), and (vi), together with (ii), (vii), (viii), (ix), (x), and parts of (xi) and (xiii).
- (b) The *Hamper MS.* (*H*) has (vii)–(xiv).
- (c) The *Petyt MS.* (*P*) has (ii) and (ix).

These MSS. are described in Appendix D (p. 268). The only piece preserved in print is (ix), which is found on p. 16 of *The Phoenix Nest* (*Ph.*), a miscellany set forth by one R.S. of the Inner Temple, who cannot be identified, and printed in 1593 by John Jackson. It gives a longer and better text than any of the MSS. and I have not recorded most of their numerous small variants. Here and there, however, they correct misprints.

The two pieces in the *Petyt MS.* are there ascribed to Dr. Edes. This is doubtless Richard Edes or Eedes who came from Westminster to Christ Church, Oxford, in 1571 and took his Doctorate of Divinity in 1590. He was a royal chaplain both to Elizabeth and to James, failed to obtain the deanery of Christ Church in 1596 (*Hatfield MSS.* vi. 197), but was appointed to that of Worcester in 1597, and died in 1604. His published works are *Six Learned and Godly Sermons* (1604) and *Three Sermons* (1627), but Anthony Wood (*Athenae*, i. 749) ascribes 'poetical fancies and composing of plays, mostly tragedies' to his younger years. His *Iter Boreale* is in several MSS. The *D.N.B.* seems to be in error citing *Bodleian Rawlinson Poet. MS.* 85 for other pieces, but there are several in *R.P. MS.* 148, a collection by the Oxford musician John Lilliat. One of these (f. 62) is much in the vein of the *Ditchley Entertainment*, and I may as well give it here. It has already been printed, with two misreadings, in N. Ault's *Elizabethan Lyrics* (1925).

#### *Of Man and Wife*

No loue, to loue of Man and Wife,  
No hope, to hope of constant heart:  
No ioy, to ioye in wedded life,  
No faith, to fayth in either parte.  
    Fleash is of fleash, and bone of bone:  
    When deeds, and woords, and thoughtes are one.

No hate, to hate of Man and Wife,  
No feare, to feare of double heart:  
No death, to discontented life,  
No griefe, to griefe when friends departe.  
    They teare the fleash & breake y<sup>e</sup> bone;  
    That warr in woorde, or thought alone.





Thy friend an other selfe [friend *MS*] may be,  
 But other selfe is not the same:  
 Thy wife, the selfe same is w<sup>th</sup> thee,  
 In bodie, mynd, in goods and name.  
 No *Thine*, no *Mine* may other call:  
 For *All*, is *One*; and *One*, is *All*.

I see no reason why Edes should not have written the whole of the entertainment of 1592. Evidence of his association with Lee is to be found in a note of 15 July 1599, which he wrote for Robert Cecil in support of Lee's claim to the rectory of Spelsbury (*Hatfield MSS.* ix. 234). The *Ditchley MS.* contains other pieces of his (cf. pp. 274-5), but others again may be too early for him.]

⟨The First Day's Entertainment.⟩

1592

September 20

⟨The Queen is led to the entrance of a grove, and is there stopped by a warder.⟩

⟨i⟩ The knight that had Charge of the groue

Ladye or queene or both: for both maye be  
 your state, your trayne your person shewes you so  
 presse not too far, vnlesse you wishe to see  
 the dolefull case of them that liue in woe  
 & pittie wer it such a one as you 5  
 shold se the sight wold make your hart to rew.

This groue (the charge wherof to me belongs  
 who stand to giue all passengers deniall)  
 yealdes nothings els but syghes & mornfull songes  
 of hopeless people by ther hapless tryall 10  
 for euerie one in matters that are hidden  
 will seeke the more, the more they are forbidden.

Yet if you build vpon your owne perfection  
 as what perfections may not in you rest  
 doo as you list follow not my direction 15  
 who feare the worst & praye not for the best  
 or tarry here or if you needes will enter  
 myne be the warning & yours be the venter.

⟨The dauntless Queen advances with her train, and as she passes through the grove another Knight speaks from within the trunk of a tree.⟩



⟨ii⟩ The Second Knights Complaynt:

What troops are theise which ill aduised presse  
 in to this more then most vnhappie plase  
 the very seat of malecontentednes,  
 ladyes with loues & louers with disgrace  
     here shall you see: I shame to name the sightes      5  
     light harted ladies, heauy harted knightes:

Light harted ladies, but the fault ther owne,  
 by the too much presuminge of ther witts,  
 knights heauy harted, but yet ouerthrowne  
 by louinge those that only loue by fitts.      10  
     both malecontent, they for ther foolishe doinge,  
     & we with them, for our more folishe wooinge.

But this it is to creditt weomen kynde  
 who haue ther harts as rowlinge as ther eies  
 whose thoughts are fancies, wordes & othes but wynde      15  
 loue as a dew wich in the morninge dries  
     with long suit gotten & with endless cost  
     yet by & by with lesse than nothings lost.

Despayr is all our hope, distrust our staye,  
 contempt our fauore, our reward dysdayne      20  
 our answer doubt, our comfort but delaye  
 our very end but to beginn agayne  
     in sorowes circle we runne euer round  
     most constantly to most vnconstant bound.

Yet in this night of our accursed state      25  
 we doe but for that morninge star attend  
 wich is apoynted by the secret fate  
 to bringe this hard enchauntment to an end  
     wherin tho all that came did take the foyle  
     I hope some one in tyme maye it assoyle.      30

Meane while this groue must be our restinge place  
 we knights are trees whome roots of faith doe bynd

2 vnhappie] vnworthie *D.*      4 loues] loue *D.*      8 the] their *P.*  
 10 loue] loues *D.*      12 more] most *P.*      18 than] & *D.*      20 our fauore]  
 offauore *D.*      22 but] euen *P.*      24 vnconstant] inconstant *P.*      27 the]  
 our *P.*      32 are] as *P.*      of faith] *om. D.*





our ladies leaues who sometye giue vs grace,  
 but fall awaie with euerie blast of wynd,  
 our Springe, our Autumne by ther loue is made 35  
 as they affecte we florish & we fade.

⟨The imprisoned ladies in their turn lament from the branches  
 of trees.⟩

(iii) The ⟨maid⟩ens song.

Vnconstancie and presumptious yocke  
 layd by mishap on ladyes neckes  
 whie dost thou all the world prouocke  
 to ⟨misiudge⟩ & condemne our sexe  
 Alas the fault is not in vs 5  
 if ⟨it⟩ agaynst our wills be thus.

Vnconstancie pore woemens shame  
 witnes theise wants we fynd by the  
 wherof (tho women beare the blame)  
 yet men in ded cannot be free, 10  
 Alas thou plaguest not only vs  
 for men themselues ar punisht thus.

Nor maye ther errors make vs cleare:  
 nor will we ioye at others fall  
 nor doe ⟨we⟩ question any hear 15  
 nor can they Justly touch vs all  
 Alas ther is but one of vs  
 A woman & she is not thus.

⟨A third Knight has nothing material to add.⟩

(iv) The third Knights Songe

When first I entred this enchaunted wood  
 to suffer for vnconstant weomans sin  
 I hoped some goodes might haue done me good  
 & locked for end when cares (eares *MS.*) did first beginn  
 for tho I fynd myne nowne wer much to blame 5  
 I deamed all others wold not proue the same

33 leaues] *om. D.*

36 *Subscribed in P* Doctor Edes.

iii. 4 ⟨misiudge⟩ *ex conj. MS. illegible.*



But heare behold the worth of weomens kynd  
 and for our constant loue theise goodly fees,  
 In this dark groue light weomen are vnshrinde  
 & captiue bound as many knights as trees; 10  
     that wishing death hath made with on consent  
     this ground ther groue, this groue ther monument,

But leaue I now ther follyes to disclose  
 tho non maye better speack therof then I  
 for while this wood or ground <wheron?> it growes 15  
 Shall named be, ther names shall neuer die  
     nor wold I wish to liue or bereath on daye  
     but that I breath ther follies to displaye.

<The Queen has now been led to the end of the grove.>

(v) The Knight that had the Charge of the Groue.

This is the farthest gate (most excellent ladie) of that vnfortunate groue wherunto your owne only virtue wayted on by the continewal wonder of constant followers hath safely conducted you; yf the darkness of this place or the deadness of theise passionnes haue breed dyspleasure in you, the openes of a freshe ayer, & the freeddome from such od humors, will bringe a better delight; what other contentment my pore seruice, & humble attendance can procure, you may assuredly presume of, & this I dare promise you (wich is somewhat worth in a straunge Countrie) that so longe as I lead you you shall not lose your waye: Heare abouts not long agoe (most vertuous ladye) did I heare a dolorous knight bewayle his hard hap in a pittiful accent, ther (you *MS.*) beinge growne (as it shold seeme) to some hight of expostulations with himselfe, and hearing the vere to make answer to his wordes, brack forth into the curious demandes of loue & quick interragatories of the Nature of louers, wich passage betwixt him and thechoo, because it then lyked me, I comitted to memorie, & will now make report therof vnto your Maiestie: and after the riminge of a long examiter he spake thus in a short verse:

Eccho refer misero quid sit amare: E: mare.  
 si mare, qui fluctus? E. luctus. quis nauita? E: vita:  
 quid flumen? E: lumen: dic mihi crimen? E: himen.





qui terrores? E: errores. quis ne erro precor? E: cor.  
cor si erit que tum spes in amore? E: mori

and so discontentedly depart.

⟨The Queen is then led to a hall, hung with allegorical pictures,  
where an old Knight lies sleeping, watched by his page.⟩

(vi) The page

Blessed be you swet ladie from aboue  
on earth aboue all ⟨other?⟩ ladies blessed  
in whom my hart reades arguments of loue  
conceauinge ioyes wich cannot be exprest,  
the hope of comfort for this knight distrest 5  
this knight distressed, & in wofull taking  
whose thoughts although his bodie sleeps ar wakinge

Lo here the matter of his ouerthrow  
thos charmed pictures on the wall depending  
what was his error yet I maye not knowe 10  
but suer it was the fayrie quenes offending  
& well I trust it shortly shall haue endinge  
for neuer was ther man that prince displeased  
who might not by a prince agayne be eased

Drawe nere & take a vew of euerie table 15  
in them no doubte some secreats are concealed  
wich if you will (for who denies you able)  
Cannot but by your wisdom be reuealed,  
So hapely my M<sup>r</sup> may be healed.

And you so highly of the godes regarded 20  
Shall for your speciall vertue be rewarded.

⟨As the Queen looks at the pictures and divines their meaning,  
the Knight wakes, and it is to be supposed that the enchant-  
ment of the grove is dispelled, and the prisoners leave their  
trees. The Knight gives her a jewel.⟩

(vii) The Olde Knightes Tale

Now drowsie sleepe, death's image, lifes prolonger,  
Thow that hast kept my sences windowes closed,  
Dislodge these heauie humors, stay no longer,

vii *No heading in D.* 1 *lifes]* ease's *H.* 3 *these]* those *D.*



For light itself thie darkesom bands hath losed,  
 And of mine eies to better vse disposed: 5  
     To better vse, for what can better be  
     Then substance in the steede of shades to see.

O mortall substance of immortall glorie!  
 To whom all creatures ells are shaddowes demed;  
 Vouchsafe an eare vnto the woeful storie 10  
 Of him who, whatso eare before he semed,  
 Is nowe as you esteme to be esteemed:  
     And sence himself is of himself reporter  
     To tell your praise, will make his part the shorter.

Not far from hence, nor verie long agoe, 15  
 The fayrie Queene the fayrest Queene saluted  
 That euer lyued (& euer may shee soe);  
 With sportes and plaies, whose fame is largely bruted,  
 The place and persons were so fitlie shuted:  
     For who a Prince can better entertaine 20  
     Than can a Prince, or els a princes vaine?

Of all the pleasures there, among the rest,  
 (The rest were Justes and feates of Armed Knightes),  
 Within hir bower she biddes her to a feast,  
 Which with enchaunted pictures trim she dightes, 25  
 And on them woordes of highe intention writes:  
     For he that mightie states hath feasted, knowes  
     Besides their meate, they must be fedd with shewes.

Manie there were that could no more but vewe them,  
 Many that ouer curious nearer pried. 30  
 Manie would construe needes that neuer knewe them,  
 Som laught, som lyked, som questioned, some enuied,  
 One asked them too who should not be denied:  
     But shee that thwarted, where she durst not struggle,  
     To make her partie good was fayne to Juggle. 35

4 darkesom] darsome <i>D.</i>	hath] haue <i>H.</i>	7 shades] shade <i>D.</i>
10 an] one <i>D.</i>	11 before] <i>om. D.</i>	14 tell] all <i>H.</i>
17 soc] see <i>H.</i>	18 With] What <i>H.</i>	21 princes] prince's <i>H.</i>
22 among] amongst <i>D.</i>	27 states] knightes <i>D.</i>	28 Besides] beside <i>D.</i>
30 pried] pride <i>H.</i>	31 that] who <i>D.</i>	32 laught] lookt <i>H.</i>

enuied] aymed *H.* eyed *Bond.*





Forthwith the Tables were conueied hither,  
 Such power she had by her infernall Arte;  
 And I enjoyned to keepe them altogether,  
 With speciall charge on them to sett my harte,  
 Euer to tarrie, neuer to departe:

40

Not bowing downe my face vpon the grounde,  
 Beholding still the Piller that was crounde.

I whom in elder tyme she dearelie loued,  
 Deare is that loue which nothing can disgrace,  
 I that had ofte before her fauor proued,  
 But knewe not howe such fauoure to embrace,  
 I, I, am put in trust to warde this place:

45

So kinde is loue, that being once conceauid,  
 It trustes againe, although it were deceaued.

Seruant, quoth shee, looke vpward and beware  
 Thou lend not anie Ladie once an eye;  
 For diuers Ladies hither will repaire,  
 Presuming that they can my charmes vntie,  
 Whose misse shall bring them to inconstancie:

50

And happie art thou if thou haue such heede,  
 As in anothers harme thine owne to reede.

55

But loe vnhappy I was ouertaken,  
 By fortune forst, a stranger ladies thrall,  
 Whom when I sawe, all former care forsaken,  
 To finde her out I lost my self and all,  
 Through which neglect of dutie 'gan my fall:

60

It is the propertie of wrong consenting  
 To ad vnto the punishment lamenting.

With this the just reuengefull Fayrie Queene,  
 As one that had conceaued Anger deepe,  
 And therefore ment to execute her teene,  
 Resolute to caste mee in a deadlie sleepe,  
 No other mulcte coulde lyke decorum keepe:

65

For Justice sayth, that where the eie offended,  
 Vpon the eye the lawe should be extended.

70

36 conueied] prouided *D.*    44 nothing] neuer *D.*    47 I, I] Yea *H.*  
 54 inconstancie] vnconstancie *H.*    55 art thou] *om. D.*    56 thine]  
 thy *D.*    60 out] ought *H.*    my self] meeself *H.*    61 'gan]  
 grew *D.*    68 mulcte] *om. H.* <sentence> *Bond.*    lyke] *om. H.*



Thus haue I longe abode, without compassion,  
 The rygor which that wrathefull Judge required:  
 Till now a straung and suddaine alteration  
 Declares the date of my distres expired:  
 O peareles Prince! O presence most desired! 75  
     By whose sole resolution this ys found,  
     That none but Princes, Princes mindes expounde.

In lue whereof, though far beneath your merrit,  
 Accept this woorthles meede that longes thereto,  
 It is your owne, and onlie you may weare it, 80  
 The fayrie queene giues euerie one his due,  
 For she that punisht me rewardeth you;  
     As for us heare, who nothing haue to paie,  
     It is ynough for poore men if they pray.  
         Coelumque solumque beaut.

⟨And so they went to dinner, after which came in two Ladies,  
 once prisoners in the grove.⟩

(viii) The Songe after Dinner at the two Ladies Entrance.

To that Grace that sett us free,  
 Ladies let us thankfull be;  
 All enchaunted cares are ceast,  
 Knightes restored, we releast;  
 Eccho change thie mournefull song, 5  
 Greefes to Groues and Caues belong;  
 Of our new deliuerie,  
 Eccho, Eccho, certifie.

Farwell all in woods that dwell,  
 Farwell satyres, nymphes farewell; 10  
 Adew desires, fancies die,  
 Farwell all inconstancie.  
 Nowe thrice welcome to this place,  
 Heauenlie Goddesse! prince of grace!

81 fayrie] farry *H.*      giues] geue *H.*

*Heading* The song at the Ladies thangkgeuinge *D.*      1 sett] setts *D.*

3 cares] cares *D.*      5 thie] the *D.*





She hath freed us carefull wightes,  
Captiue Ladies, Captiue Knightes.

15

To that Grace that sett us free,  
Ladies let us thankfull bee.

(ix) The ladies thancsgeuinge for ther delyuery from inconstancie.

*Constancie.* Most excellent: shall I say Lady, or Goddesse? whom I should enuie to be but a Lady, and can not denie to haue the power of a Goddesse? vouchsafe to accept the humble thankfulness of vs lately distressed Ladies, the pride of whose witts was iustly punished with the inconstancie of our wills; 5 whereby we were caried to delight, as in nothing more than to loue, so in nothing so much as to change louers; which punishment, though it were onely due to our desarts, yet did it light most heauily vpon those knights, who following vs with the heate of their affection, had neither grace to get vs, nor power 10 to leaue vs. Now since by that more than mortall power of your more than humane wisdom, the enchanted tables are read, and both they and we released, let vs be punished with more than inconstancie, if we faile either to loue constantly, or to eternize your memorie. 15

*Inconstancie.* Not to be thankfull to so great a person, for so great a benefite, might argue as little iudgement, as ill nature: and therefore though it be my place to speake after you, I will striue in thankfulness to go before you, but yet rather for my libertie, bicause I may be as I list, than for any minde I haue 20 to be more constant than I was.

*Const.* If you haue no minde to be constant, what is the benefit of your deliuerance?

*Inconst.* As I tolde you before, my libertie, which I loue better than my selfe, for though I loue inconstancie as my selfe, 25

[*Heading*] The . . . inconstancie] *D. H.* A Dialogue betweene Constancie and Inconstancie spoken before the Queenes M<sup>tie</sup>: at Woodstock *P.* An excellent Dialogue betweene Constancie and Inconstancie, as it was by speech presented to hir Maiestie, in the last Progresse at sir Henrie Leighes house *Ph.*—I follow mainly the *Ph.* text, and omit many insignificant variants of the others.

5 wills] wits *Ph.*  
alienize *Ph.*

8 desarts] discents *Ph.*

15 eternize]



and had as leeu not be, as not be vnconstant; yet can I not but hate that which I loue best, when I am enforced vnto it: and (by your leaue) as daintie as you make of the matter, I am perswaded that you would euen hate your selfe, if you were but wedded vnto your selfe.

30

*Const.* Selfeloue is not the loue that we talke of, but rather the kinde knitting of two harts in one, of which sort if you had a faithfull louer, what shoulde you loose by being faithfull vnto him?

*Inconst.* More than you shall get by being so.

35

*Const.* I seeke nothing but him to whom I am constant.

*Inconst.* And euen him shall you loose by being constant.

*Const.* What reason haue you for that?

*Inconst.* No other reason than that which is drawn from the common places of loue, which is for the most part, reason 40 beyond reason.

*Const.* You may rather call it reason without reason; if they conclude that loue and faith, the more they haue, the lesse they shall finde.

*Inconst.* Will you beleue your owne experience?

45

*Const.* Farre beyond your reason.

*Inconst.* Haue you not then found amongst your louers, that they would flie you, if you do but follow them, and follow you most, when you do most flie them?

*Const.* I graunt I haue found it too true in some, but I now 50 speake of a constant louer indeed.

*Inconst.* You may better speake of him than finde him; but the onely way to haue him, is, to be vnconstant.

*Const.* How so?

*Inconst.* I haue heard Philosophers say, that *Acquisito ter-* 55 *mino cessat motus*, there is no motion (and you know loue is a motion) but it ceaseth (or rather dieth) when it hath gotten his end; and to say the truth, loue hath no edge when it is assured, whose verie foode and life is hope, and the hope of hauing, is dull without the feare of loosing, where there are no ryuals. 60

*Const.* But the more constant he findes me, the more careful he will be to deserue well of me.

27 loue best, when] loue; but when *Ph.*  
of *Ph.* harts] partes *P.*  
*Inquisito Ph.*

32 kinde] kinde  
55 *Acquisito*] *Acquisitio H.*





*Inconst.* You deceiue your selfe with that conceite, and giue him no small aduantage to range where he listeth, when you let him know you are at his deuotion, whom you shall be sure 65 to haue at yours, if by an indifferent cariage of your selfe, you breede an emulation betweene him and others.

*Const.* It were against nature for hir which is but one, to loue more than one, and if it be a fault to beare a double hart, what is it to diuide the hart among many. 70

*Inconst.* I aske no other iudge than nature, especially in this matter of loue, than which there is nothing more naturall, and surely for any thing that I can see, nature delighteth in nothing so much, as in varietie; and it were hard, that since she hath appointed varietie of colours for the eie, variety of sounds for 75 the eare, varietie of meates for the mouth, and varietie of other thinges for euery other sense, she should binde the hart (to which all the rest doe seruice) to the loue of one any more, than she bindeth the eie to one colour, the eare to one sound, or the mouth to one kinde of meate. 80

*Const.* Neither doth she deny the hart varietie of choyse, she onely requires constancie when it hath chosen.

*Inconst.* What if we commit an error in our choise?

*Const.* It is no fault to choose where we like.

*Inconst.* But if our liking varie, may we not be better aduised? 85

*Const.* When you haue once chosen, you must turne your eies inward, to looke onelie on him whom you haue placed in your hart.

*Inconst.* Why then I perceiue you haue not yet chosen, for your eies looke outwarde, but as long as your eies stand in your 90 head as they doe, I doubt not but to finde you inconstant.

*Const.* I do not denie but I looke vpon others beside him that I loue best, but they are all as dead pictures vnto me, for any power they haue to touch my hart.

*Inconst.* If they were but (as you account them) dead pictures, 95 I do not doubt, but they would make an other Pigmalion of you, rather than you would be bound to the loue of one onely; but what if that one prooue inconstant?

*Const.* I had rather the fault should be his than mine.

*Inconst.* It is a small comfort to say the fault is his, when the 100 losse is yours, but how can you auoid the fault, who can helpe it and will not?



*Const.* I see no way to helpe it, but by breach of faith, which I hold deerer then my life.

*Inconst.* What is the band of your faith? 105

*Const.* My worde.

*Inconst.* Your word is but winde, and no sooner spoken than gone.

*Const.* Yet doth it binde, to see what is spoken, done.

*Inconst.* You can do little, if you cannot master your worde. 110

*Const.* I should do lesse, if my word did not master me.

*Inconst.* It masters you indeed, for it makes you a slaue.

*Const.* To none but one, whom I choose to serue.

*Inconst.* It is basenes to serue, tho it be but one.

*Const.* More base to dissemble with more than one. 115

*Inconst.* When you loue all alike, you dissemble with none.

*Const.* But if I loue many, will any loue me?

*Inconst.* No doubt there will, and so much the more, by how much the more they are that striue for you.

*Const.* But the hart that is euery where, is indeede no where. 120

*Inconst.* If you speake of a mans hart, I grant it to be true; but as for the hart of a woman, it is like a soule in a bodie; *Tota in toto, & tota in qualibet parte*: that is, wholie in the whole, and yett wholie in euerie parte; that though you had as many louers, as you haue fingers and toes, you might be but 125 one amongst them all, and yet wholly euery ones: but bicause I see you are peruersly deuoted to the cold sinceritie of imaginarie constancie, I leaue you to be as you may, and purpose my selfe to be as I list. Neuertheles, to your Maiestie, by whom I haue obtained this libertie, in token of my thankfulnes, I offer 130 this simple work of mine owne hands, which you may weare as you please, but I made it after mine owne minde to be worne loose.

*Const.* And I who by your comming am not onely set at libertie, but made partaker also of constancie, doe present you 135 with as vnworthie a worke of mine owne hands, which yet I hope you will better accept, bicause it will serue to binde the loosnes of that inconstant dames token.

*Inconst.* To binde the loosnes, and that of an inconstant dame, say no more than you know, for you knowe not so much as I 140 feele; well may we bewray our selues betweene our selues, as





thinking we haue said nothing, vntill we haue saide all. But  
 now, a greater power worketh in me, than your or my reason,  
 which draweth me from the circle of my fancies, to the center  
 of constant loue, there representing vnto me what contentment 145  
 it is, to loue but one, and how desire is satisfied with no number,  
 when once it delighteth in more than one. I am not, I cannot  
 be as I was, the leaue that I did take of my selfe, is to leaue my  
 selfe, and to change, or rather to be changed to that estate  
 which admitteth no change: by the secret power of hir, who 150  
 though she were content to let me be caried almost out of  
 breath with the winde of inconstancie, doth now in hir silence  
 put me to silence, and by the glorie of hir countenance, which  
 disperseth the flying cloudes of vaine conceites, commands me  
 to wishe others, and to be my selfe as she is, *Semper eadem.* 155

(x) The Song at ther departure.

Happie houre, happie daie,  
 That Eliza came this waie!

Greate in honor, great in place,  
 Greater yet in geuing grace,  
 Greate in wisdom, great in minde, 5  
 But in bothe aboue her kinde,  
 Greate in vertue, greate in name,  
 Yet in power beyond her fame.

Happie houre, happie daie,  
 That Eliza came this waie! 10

She, with more than graces grace,  
 Hath made proude this humble place,  
 She, with more than wisdomes head,  
 Hath enchanted tables read,  
 She, with more than vertues mighte, 15  
 Hath restorid us to right.

Happie houre, happie daie,  
 That Eliza came this waie!

147 I am not] *Ph. begins a fresh speech, as by Constancie.* 150 secret]  
 sacred *P.* who] which *Ph.* 153 by the glorie] with the  
 gloriouse beams *D. . . . beame H.* 154 disperseth] disposeth *P.*  
 155 to wishe] too with *Ph.* *Subscribed in P. Doctor Edes.*

13 more] *om. D.*



Heauie harted Knightes are cased,  
 And light harted Ladies pleased,  
 Constant nowe they vowe to be,  
 Hating all inconstancie.  
 Constant Piller, constant Crowne,  
 Is the aged Knightes renowne.

20

Happie houre, happie daie,  
 That Eliza came this waie!

25

Thus much this first day.

(xi) The second daies woorke where the chaplayne maketh this relation.

Da mihi quicquid habes, animumq' fidemq' manumq'  
 Hec tria si mihi des das mihi quicquid habes.  
 Elizae laudes, et vox et lingua loquuntur.

### The Oration.

Most excellent Princes! Princes of excellencie! whom God framed in heauen to grace his woorkmanshippe on earth, & whose gracious abiding with vs belowe is priuiledged by the singular grace of God aboue! Vouchsafe, I beseeche you, from the matcheles heighte of your royall graces, to looke downe on the humble dwelling of an owlde Knight, now a newe religious Hermite; who, as heretofore he professed the obedience of his youthe, by constant seruice of the worldes best Creature, so at this present presentethe the deuotion of his yeares by continuall seruing of the worldes onlie Cretor. In the one, kind iudgment was the vsher, & beleefe the follower of his sounde loue: in the other, meditation is the forerunner, & zeale the vsher, of this streite lyfe. This solitary man, Loricus, for such is his condicion & so is he called, one whose harde aduentures were once discouered, and better fortune fore- shewed, by a good father of his owne coate, nor farr from this Coppies, rann the restles race of desire, to seeke content in the

5

15

21 'vowe] ioye D. H. omits Thus . . . day.

Heading. 1592 Septe' 21st. The chaplaynes narration, *preceded by the Latin verses, the last of which here runs*, Diua tuas laudes et nox et ligna loquntur D.—I omit some insignificant variants, chiefly omissions of D.

6 an] a innocent D.

10 Cretor] Bond. creature D.





seat of perfection; comaunding his thoughtes & deedes to  
 tender their dutie & make solemne sacrifices to the Idoll of  
 his harte, in as manie partes as his minde had passions, yet all <sup>20</sup>  
 to one ende, because all from one grounde, to wit, the consent  
 of his affections. Sometymes he consorted with couragious  
 gentlemen, manifesting inward Joyes by open Justes, the yearlie  
 tribute of his dearest Loue. Sometimes he summoned the  
 witnesse of depest conceiptes, Himmes & Songes & Emblemes, <sup>25</sup>  
 dedicating them to the honor of his heauenlye Mistres. Some-  
 tymes by lyking drawen to looking, he lost himselfe in the  
 bottomles vewe of vnparagonized vertues, eche good ymagina-  
 tion ouertaking other with a better, and the best yelding a  
 degree aboue the best, when they all were deemed too weake <sup>30</sup>  
 for her woorth which ouerweyeth all worthinesse.

Thus spent he the florishe of his gladdest dayes, crauing no  
 rewarde ells, but that he might loue, nor no reputation beside  
 but that he might be known to loue; till the two enimies of  
 Prosperitie, Enuie and Age, (the one greeuing at him, & the <sup>35</sup>  
 other growing on him) cutt him cleane off from following the  
 Cowrte, not from goyng forward in his course. Thence,  
 willingly vnwilling, he retired his tyred lymes into a corner of  
 quiet repose, in this Countrie, where he lyued priuate in coeles-  
 tiall contemplation of manie matters together, and, as he once <sup>40</sup>  
 told me, seriouslie kept a verie courte in his owne bosome,  
 making presence of her in his soule, who was absent from his  
 sight. Amongst manie other exercises (whereof feruent desire  
 ys not scant) he founde it noe small furtheraunce of diuine  
 speculation to walke thorow by-pathes & vncoth passages, vnder <sup>45</sup>  
 the coole shaddowes of greene trees.

And one daie aboue the rest, as he ranged abroad, hauing  
 forgotten himself in a long sweet rauishment, his feete wandring  
 astray when his mind went right, he hit by chaunce on a  
 homelie Cell of mine which I had helde a little space, to my <sup>50</sup>  
 greate solace, & taking mee on a soddaine at my ordinarie  
 Orisons: By your leaue, verteouse Sir, quoth he, where lyes  
 the highe-waie I pray you. Marry here, gentell Knight (sayde  
 I) looking on my booke with mine eyes, & poyntyng up to  
 heauen with my finger; it is the very Kinges hie-waye. You <sup>55</sup>

18 seat] state *H.*      perfection] perfections *H.*      23 open] out-  
 ward *D.*      34 loue] Loue *H.*      36 cleane] *om. H.*



say true in deede (quoth he) the verie Queenes hie-waye,  
 which my harte inquired after though my tongue asked for  
 another. And so, as it is the vse with fellowe humors when they  
 fortunately meete, we light bothe upon one argument, the  
 vniuersall fame of that miraculous gouernment, which by truthe 60  
 & peace, the harbengers of heauen, directeth us the verie waye  
 to eternall blessedness. Much good discourse had we more, of  
 the vanitie of the world, the vncertainetie of frendes, the vn-  
 constancie of fortune; but the vpshoot of all was this, that he  
 would become an Heremite, I should be his Chaplaine, & 65  
 both ioyntlie ioyne in prayers for one prince, & the prayses of  
 one god. To which purpose, because this plott pleased him,  
 hee here forthwith erected a poore Loddging or twoe, for me,  
 himselfe, & a page, that wayteth on him, naming it when he  
 had donne the Crowne Oratory; and therefore aduansed his 70  
 deuise on the entrance after the Romaine fashion in a Piller  
 of perpetuall remembraunce. But, alas! whilst he seekes to  
 raise one buylding, hee sees the rewins of another; & whilst  
 he shapes a monument for his minde, he feeles the miserie of  
 his bodie, whose roofe was roughe with the mosse of gray 75  
 haire, whose sides were crased with the tempestes of sicknes,  
 whose foundation shooke vnder him with the waight of an  
 vnwildye carcase: and when he perceaued his olde house in  
 a manner past reparacions, considering his owne vnablenes, he  
 recomended the care thereof to the conningest Architect of 80  
 the Worlde, who onlie was able to pull it downe to the earth,  
 & raise it anewe, in better glorie than it stood before. Then  
 began I to call him to his former preceptes, & his later prac-  
 tizes, shewing him in fewe woordes (for he conceaued much)  
 that now was the tyme of tryall. A good sayler was better 85  
 seene in a storme than in a calme. It was no straunge thing to  
 lyue; for slaues lyue, and beastes lyue too. Nature had pro-  
 uided him comforte, who made that most common which shee  
 had made most greeuouse; to the end the equallnes might aleye  
 the egernes of death. To which he mildelie replied that my 90  
 motions fytlye touched him, he was as desirouse to encounter  
 with Death, as to heare of Death, for Fortitude still abode his

55-6 it . . . true] *om. D.*      Queenes] *om. D.*      58 with] *of D.*  
 61 verie] *om. D.*      75 gray] *greene H.*      80-1 Architect of the Worlde]  
*D. has no more of (xi), owing to the loss of a leaf.*







bedfellowe. Extremitie though it could not be ouercom yet it might be ouerborne, since his Minde had secured him by fearing nothing, and oueriched him by desiring nothing. Hee had 95 longe lyued in the Sea, and ment now to die in the Hauen. Hauen (saide I). Yea! the Hauen (quoth he); lett me be carried into the Hauen. Which Hauen I supposed he hadd spoken idellie, but that he eftsones repeted it, and wished to be brought to this poore houell before the gates. What thatt odde corner 100 (saide I). Yes (quoth he) that corner; and angerlie broke of with this Sentence: *Subsilire ex Angulo licet.*

So we speedelie remoued him hither, wher being softly layed he vttered these speeches softelie:—Before I was olde, I desired to lyue well, and now I am olde, I desire to die well; 105 and to die well is to die willinglie. Manie there be that wish to lyue, yet wott not how to die: lett me be their example yf they lyke not lyfe, to lyue, to die with lyking, who neither embraced Fortune when she flew vnto mee, nor ensued Fortune when she fled from mee, nor spared niggardlie, nor spent 110 lauishlie, whatsoeuer she bestowed on me: but since it was my singuler hope to lyue beholding to the Crowne, I accompt it my speciall ioye to dye beholding the Crowne. Holy Crowne! hallowed by the sacrament, confirmed by the fates; thou hast been the Aucthor of my last Testament. So calling for pen and 115 inke (which were neuer far off) he drew a formall draught of his whole will, signed & subscribed by himselfe, but witnessed by vs, the compassionate spectators of that lamentable action which he had no sooner entituled by wayes of truste, & geuen me charge for the safe deliuering thereof, but he fell soddenlye 120 speecheles & so continueth to this houre. The stile runneth thus: *To the most renowned Queene owner of the best Crowne & crowned with the best desertes, the lyuing loue of dying Loricus.* Now, most peereles Princes, sence there is none that can laie challenge to this tytyle, except they should also challenge your vertues, 125 which were to complaine of Nature for robbing herselfe to do you right, accept I beseeche you the offer of him who dares not offer it to anie other; & one daie no doubt but the Knight himselfe, if happilie he recouer (as what may not so sacred a prince promise), will say it is in a good hand, & proue the best 130 expounder of his owne meaning. In the meane season, though myne endeuors must be employed about your sick seruant, yet



my prayers shall not cease for your most gratiouse Maiestie,  
 that as you haue ouer liued the vaine hope of your forraine  
 enemies, so you may outlast the kinde wishes of your loyall 135  
 subiectes, which is to last to the last euerlasting. Amen.

(xii) To the most renowned Queenè,  
 Owner of the best Crowne, & crowned with the  
 best desertes, the lyuing Loue of dying  
 Loricus.

I Loricus, Bodie sicke,  
 Sences sounde, Remembraunce quicke,  
 Neuer crauing, euer seruing,  
 Little hauing, lesse deseruing,

Though a hartie true wellwiller  
 Of the Crowne & crowned Piller,  
 To that Crowne, my lyues content,  
 Make my Will and Testament.

Soule! goe first to heauenlie rest:  
 Soule the Bodies heauenlie gieste,  
 Where, both Host & Inn decaying,  
 Yeld the guest no quiet staying.

Bodie! back againe, departe;  
 Earth thou wast, & Earth thou arte,  
 Mortall creatures still be iurneing,  
 From the earth to earth returning.

As for anie worldlie lyuing  
 Nothing haue I woorth the geeuing:  
 Let the baser indeed take them,  
 We which follow God forsake them.

But if anie wishe to dwell,  
 As I did, in homely Cell,  
 Let him pull his Castells downe,  
 And as I did serue the Crowne.  
 Serue the Crowne, O Crowne deseruing,  
 Better than Loricus seruing.





In witness whereof I haue set to my hande & harte,  
LORICVS Columnae coronatae Custos fidelissimus.

In presence of vs whose names are vnderwritten,  
STELLATUS, Rectoriae Coronatae Capellanus.  
RENATUS, Equitis Coronati Seruus obseruantissimus.

〈The Queen entered the oratory, and came out again.〉

(xiii) The Page bringeth tydings of his Maister's Recouerie,  
& presenteth his Legacie.

The suddaine recouerie of my distressed Maister, whome  
latelie you left in a Traunce (Most excellent Princes!) hath  
made me at one tyme the hastie messenger of three trothes,  
your miracle, his mending, & my mirth. Miracles on the sicke  
are seldom scene without their mending; & mending of the  
good ys not often scene without other mens mirth. Where your  
Maiestie hath don a miracle, & it can not be denied, I hope  
I may manifest 〈mirth〉 & it shall not be disliked: for miracles  
are no miracles unlesse they be confessed, & mirth is no mirth  
yf it be concealed.

May it therefor please you to heare of his life who lyues by  
you, & woulde not liue but to please you; in whom the sole  
vertue of your sacred presence, which hath made the weather  
fayre, & and the ground fruitfull at this progresse, wrought so  
strange an effect and so speedie an alteration, that whereas  
before he seemed altogether speecheles, now Motion (the  
Recorder of the Bodies Commonwealth) tells a lyuelie tale of  
health, & his Tongue (the Cocheman of the Harte) begun to  
speake the sweete language of affection. So turning him selfe  
about to the ayre & the lyght, O wretched man, callamities  
storie, lyfes delay, & deathes prisoner: with that he pawed  
a while & then fixing his eyes on the Crowne, he sayd Welcom  
be that blessed Companie, but thrise blessed be her coming  
about the rest, who came to geue me this blessed rest!

Hereat Stellatus, his Chappelaine, besought him to blesse  
God onelie, for it was Gods spirite who recouered his spirites.  
Truthe (quoth he again) yet whosoever blesseth her, blesseth  
God in her: and euer blessed be God for her.—The conference



continued long, but louinglie, betwixt them; till at length vpon  
 question to whom the Will was directed, with knowledge how <sup>30</sup>  
 it was deliuered, Loricus publiklie acknowledged the right  
 performance of his true meaning vnto your Royal Maiestie,  
 to whom he humblie recomended the full execution thereof,  
 & by me hath sent your Maiestye this simple Legacie, which  
 he disposed the rather whilst he yet lyueth, than lefte to be <sup>35</sup>  
 disposed after his deathe, that you mighte vnderstande how  
 he alwaies preferred the dede of the liuinge before the hopes of  
 the ded. Thus much your diuine power hath performed to  
 him, thus far his thankfulnes hath brought mee to Your  
 Maiestie. As for anie other Accomplementes, whatsoeuer <sup>40</sup>  
 Dutie yeldes to be debt, Deuotion offers to be dischardged;  
 and if my maister's best payment be onlie good prayers, what  
 nedes more than the Pages bare woorde, which is allwaies—  
 Amen.

⟨The legacy was then read to the Queen.⟩

(xiv) The Legacye.

Item. I bequethe (to your Highnes) THE WHOLE MANNOR  
 OF LOUE, & the appurtenaunces thereunto belonging:

(Viz.) Woodes of hie attemptes,

Groues of humble seruice,

Meddowes of greene thoughtes,

Pastures of feeding fancies,

Arrable Lande of large promisses, 5

Riuers of ebbing & flowing fauors,

Gardens hedged about with priuate, for succorie, &  
 bordered with tyme: of greene nothing but hartescase,  
 drawen in the perfect forme of a true louers knott.

Orchards stored with the best fruit: 10

Queene Apples, Pome Royalls, &

Soueraigne Peares.

Fishing for dayntie Kisses with smyling countenances,  
 Hawking to springe pleasure with the spanniells of  
 kindenes. 15

Hunting that deare game which repentance followeth.

Ouer & beside the Royaltie: for

34 your majestye] *D. begins, after the lacuna.* 37-8 of . . . ded] *om. H.*  
 42 maister's] *M<sup>r</sup> his D.* 43 nedes] *need H.*





Weftes of fearefull dispaire,  
 Strayes of wandring conceiptes,  
 Fellons goods of stolne delightes, 20  
 Coppie Holders which allure by wittee writinges,  
 Or Tennantes at will who stand vpon good behauior.  
 The Demaines being deepe sighes,  
 And the Lordes House a pittifull harte.  
 And this Mannor is helde in Knightes seruice, 25  
 As may be gathered from the true Receauour of fayre  
 Ladies, and scene in the auncient deedes of amorous  
 Gentelmen.

All which he craueth may be annexed to his former  
 Will, and therewith approued in the prerogatiue 30  
 Courte of Your Maiesties acceptance.

In wittnes whereof I haue putt to my hande &  
 seale;

LORICVS, Columnae coronatae Custos fidelis-  
 simus.

In the presence of vs whose names are here vnder  
 written:

Stellatus, Rectoriae coronatae Capellanus.

Renatus, Equitis coronati Seruus obseruantis-  
 simus.

FINIS



APPENDIX F  
LEE'S FUNERAL

[From Nicholas Charles, *A Book of Proceedyng at Funerals* (Addl. MS. 14417, f. 23<sup>v</sup>), with marginal drawings of banners, &c.]

The Proceeding at the funerall of the right honorable s<sup>r</sup> Henry Lee Knight of the moste noble order of the Garter the fourth of Aprill Anno Dn' 1611 who was buried in the Chappell at Quarendon in the County of Buckingham the daye and yeare aboue written.

2 Conductors viz

John Reading Tho: Moores

Poore men in Gownes to the number of 80

8 men in Coates

M<sup>r</sup> Scott's man & M<sup>r</sup> Henry Lee his man

M<sup>r</sup> Poores man & Mr. Colepepers man

M<sup>r</sup> Wyatte 2 men & M<sup>r</sup> Pigotte man

M<sup>r</sup> John Lees 2 men & M<sup>r</sup> Pigotte man

M<sup>r</sup> Ture and M<sup>r</sup> Swaddons men

Doctor Channells man & Doctor Blincoes man

S<sup>r</sup> Christopher Pigotte man & s<sup>r</sup> Edward Tirrells man

S<sup>r</sup> Thomas Pigotte man & S<sup>r</sup> Anthony Grenewayes  
man

S<sup>r</sup> Michael Dormers man & S<sup>r</sup> Richard Farmers man

S<sup>r</sup> George Throckmortons man & S<sup>r</sup> Henry Longviles  
man

S<sup>r</sup> Thomas Dentons man & S<sup>r</sup> Arthur Sauage his man

S<sup>r</sup> Robert Banesters 2 men

S<sup>r</sup> Francis Godwins man & S<sup>r</sup> Ale<sup>x</sup> Hamdens man

S<sup>r</sup> Francis Cheyneyes 2 men

S<sup>r</sup> Robert Dormers 2 men

S<sup>r</sup> Thomas Vavasours 3 men

S<sup>r</sup> John Egertons 3 men

[banner]      The standard borne by M<sup>r</sup> Robert Lee

A Great horse led by Henry Proffit

Gabriell Kelly & Gabriell Baker

Todman &                  Pierson

Farnell &                  Bynke





William Crumpe & Thomas East  
 Ralphe Sherley and Hawkes  
 My Lo: Norreys his seruants

3 Trompetts

[sword and shield] The Guydhome borne by M<sup>r</sup> Henry Lee  
 A Great horse led by Butcher  
 M<sup>r</sup> Babham and M<sup>r</sup> Lea the Taylor  
 The Sadlers and Armorers  
 M<sup>r</sup> Jherome Nash and M<sup>r</sup> Bury  
 M<sup>r</sup> Thomas Vauasour  
 M<sup>r</sup> Poore and M<sup>r</sup> Colepeper  
 M<sup>r</sup> Clement Pigott and M<sup>r</sup> Chamberleyn  
 Phisitions and Chaplaynes  
 Doctor Blinco

[helmet] Knighte  
 S<sup>r</sup> Christopher Pigott & S<sup>r</sup> Edward Tyrrell  
 S<sup>r</sup> Thomas Pigott & S<sup>r</sup> Anthony Grenewaye  
 S<sup>r</sup> Michael Dormer & S<sup>r</sup> George Throckmorton  
 S<sup>r</sup> Richard Farmour & S<sup>r</sup> Henry Longvile  
 S<sup>r</sup> Thomas Denton & S<sup>r</sup> Arthur Savage  
 S<sup>r</sup> Francis Godwyn & S<sup>r</sup> Alexander Hampden  
 S<sup>r</sup> Robert Banester.

My Lord Norreys  
 The Preacher for the Defunct  
 [banner] The Great banner borne by M<sup>r</sup> Wyatt  
 A Great horse led by M<sup>r</sup> Dunford.

Lancaster & Chester Herald  
 Garter w<sup>th</sup> the Gent vsher M<sup>r</sup> Tho: Lee

	Sr Francis Cheny	Mr Whitton Mr Simond Mr Nash	the body borne by these 6 bearers	Mr Micha: Lee Mr Duckett Mr Kyng	Sr Robert Dormer
[banner] Mr Broughton		Hen: Cooper Robt Joyner Steph: Nixon			
	Sr Thomas Vauasour			Jo: Barrett Edw: Paynter Nath: Coachman	Sr John Egert

[banner] Mr Andrew

Cheife Mourner M<sup>r</sup> Henry Lee  
 S<sup>r</sup> Robert Lee and M<sup>r</sup> Walter  
 [banner] Mr Robert Lee M<sup>r</sup> John Lee and M<sup>r</sup> Edward Lee [banner] Mr Vauasour  
 M<sup>r</sup> Thomas Lee and M<sup>r</sup> George Lee  
 Knights and Gentlemen not hauing blacks



[blank shield with Lee's supporters]

DV · TRES HONORABLE CHL̃R

HENRY · LEA · CHL̃R · DV · TRES NOBLE ·  
ORDRE · DE · LA · JARRETIERE · LE XXIII  
DE MAY. AN. 1597.

[The chief of those present may be classified: *Family*: Henry Lee (heir), with father Sir Robert and brothers Edward, George, Robert, and Thomas, Robert Lee of Binfield, John Lee of Lachford, Henry Lee of Ireland—*Bastard*: Thomas Vavasour—*Relations*: Ralph Symonds (nephew), Sir Francis Cheyne (step-nephew), George Wyatt (cousin), William Scott (cousin) represented by man—*Executors*: Sir Thomas Vavasour, with son William, John Walter—*Heralds*: Sir William Segar (Garter) with gentleman usher, also, as it happened, a Lee, Nicholas Charles (Lancaster), William Penson? (Chester)—*King's Representative*: Sir Robert Banester, Master of Household—*Oxford University Representative*: Anthony Blencowe, Provost of Oriel—*Clergy*: William Swaddon, Prebendary of Aylesbury, Theophilus Tuer, Rector of Fleetmarston—*Physician*: John Cheynell (Channell)—*Representatives of Bucks Families*: Andrews of Lathbury, Babham of Weston Turville, Broughton of Weston Turville, Denton of Hillesden, Dormer of Wing and Ascott, Duckett of Aylesbury, Goodwin of Upper Winchendon, Greenwaye of Leckhampstead, Hampden of Great Hampden, King of Iver, Longville of Wolverton, Pigott of Beachampton and Doddershall, Savage of Tattenhoe, Throckmorton of Fulbrook, Tyrrell of Thornton—*Oxon. Families*: Bury of Hampton Poyle and Culham, Chamberlain of Shirburn, Culpepper of Hanborough, Farmour of Somerton, Nash of Woodstock, Norris of Rycote, Power of Blechington, Whitton of Hensington—*Middlesex*: Egerton of Harefield—*Servants*: Michael Lee of Moreton (2 *Gen.* xiii. 125). M<sup>r</sup> Lea the Taylor (perhaps undertaker), William Dunford (2 *Gen.* ix. 25), and presumably most of those unidentified. The 80 poor men should represent the years of Lee's life. They may have been rounded off, or his precise age forgotten. William Scott and Nicholas Charles were misled; cf. pp. 27, 303, 305.]





## APPENDIX G

### QUARRENDON CHAPEL

[The contents of the chapel can be largely reconstructed from (a) the tricks of coats and copies of inscriptions by Nicholas Charles (1611) in *Lansdowne MS.* 874, f. 35; (b) the description of Browne Willis (12 April 1704) in *Bodleian Willis MS.* 13, f. 111<sup>v</sup>, revised in MSS. 2, f. 46, and 4, f. 190, and finally, I think, in MS. 20, f. 84; (c) the description of George Lipscomb ('Viator') in *Gentleman's Magazine*, lxxxvii (1817), i. 504; ii. 105; lxxxviii (1818), i. 116; revised in his *History of Bucks* (1847), ii. 406. A few fragments still survive. The orthography of Charles, as judged by comparison with one of these, seems to be less exact than that of Willis.]

ARMS IN WINDOWS (*names in inverted commas indicated by Charles*)

*On south and north of Chancel.*

- (1) Lee, Argent, a fesse between three crescents, sable.
- (2) Cooke of Essex, *impaling* Saunders of Banbury.
- (3) Cope of Oxfordshire, *imp.* Saunders.
- (4) Saunders, *imp.* a quartering of Spencer of Warwickshire.

[These probably date from the days of Richard or Sir Robert Lee: cf. p. 252.]

*In the east window.*

*Above:*

*first line—*

- (5) Devereux (coronet and garter).
- (6) Cromwell (coronet and garter).
- (7) Russell (coronet and garter).
- (8) Paget.

*second line—*

- (9) 'Greneway' of Dinton, Bucks.
- (10) 'Poynings' of Kent.
- (11) 'Sir Francis Knolles' (gartered).
- (12) 'Sir Henry Lee' (as in (1), gartered).
- (13) 'Wyatt' of Kent.
- (14) 'Vavasor' of Copmanthorpe.



*Below:*

*in centre—*

Arms of the Passion, with motto *Hac nobilitate beatus*, and verses—

Why should earthes gentry make her self so good  
Giuing Coate Armes for all the World to Gaze on  
Christes blood alone makes gentlemen of blood  
his shameful passion yeeldes y<sup>e</sup> fairest Blazon.  
For he is auncienst & of best behauiour  
whose auncestors & Armes are from his Saviour.  
Richard Late-warr.

[On Latewar, cf. p. 236.]

*On dexter side, in pairs—*

(15) }  
(16) } Lee (eight quarters) with crescent, mullet, martlet,  
(17) } respectively for cadency.

[Lee's brothers, Robert, Thomas, and Cromwell.]

(18) Lee, as in (1) with annulet for cadency, *imp.* Gules, a chevron or between three unicorns heads erased argent.

[Sir Richard Lee's first marriage. The impalement is probably an error. Papworth gives, from Glover's *Ordinary*, a similar coat for Blundell, in which the heads are couped or. But the arms of Sir Richard's father-in-law, on his monument at Steeple Barton, are a chevron between three eagles displayed (*Harl. Soc.* v. 35).]

(19) Lee (eight quarters), with annulet, *imp.* Kempe of Olantigh, Kent (eighteen quarters).

[Sir Richard Lee's second marriage.]

(20) Ingoldsby of Lenborough, Bucks.

*On sinister side, in pairs—*

(21) Reade, impaling Lee.  
(22) Spenser, impaling Lee.  
(23) Cooke, impaling Lee.  
(24) 'Symonds', impaling Lee.  
(25) Cheyne, impaling Lee.  
(26) Tanfield, impaling Symonds.

[Marriages of Lee's sisters and niece; cf. pp. 24, 206.]





## MONUMENTS

*On north side of Chancel.*

(1) *Sir Henry Lee.*

An altar tomb or sarcophagus of white and red veined marble. On this an alabaster figure, painted and gilded, of a recumbent mailed knight, leaning on his left arm, with his head on a helmet adorned with a plume of feathers, a sword in his hand, a Garter collar and appendant George about his neck, and a mantle of the order about his shoulders.

Above, a canopy with cornice and pediment, supported by trophies of coats of mail and helmets; on the top, black pyramids at each corner; on the pediment of black marble, three fillets of jasper, each inscribed 'Fide et Constantia'.

The recess behind the effigy adorned with battle axes, banners, javelins, and the like, and in its centre on a black marble tablet the inscription—

Fide & Constantia	{	Vixit Deo Patriae & Amicis Annos
Fide & Constantia		Christo Spūm: Carnem Sepulchro commen-
		davi
Fide & Constantia	{	Scio Credo Expecto Mortuorum Resurrec-
		tionem

[Charles adds '80' to the statement of age, but that may be his gloss.]

Below, on two tablets on the front of the tomb—

If Fortunes Stoore or Natures wealth commende  
 They both unto his Vertue praise did lende  
 The Warres abroad with honour he did passe  
 In Courtly Justs his Sovereignes Knight he was  
 Six Princes he did serve and in the Frighte  
 And Change of State kept still himselfe upright.

With Faith untoucht, Spottless & cleere his Fame  
 So pure that Envy could not wrong the same  
 All but his Vertue now (so vaine is breath)  
 Tourn'd Dust lye here in the cold Armes of Death.  
 Thus Fortunes Gifts and Yearthly favours flye  
 When Vertue conquers Death and Destinye.



On the wall, above the monument, the Lee arms in a Garter, with crest and supporters and the motto *Fide et Constantia*.

On the wall, to the east of the monument, within a white alabaster frame, a black tablet, of which a fragment is preserved at Hartwell House, with the inscription, practically unpunctuated—

1611

MEMORIAE SACRVM

Sir Henry Lee, Knight of the most noble Order of the Garter, sonne of Sir Anthony Lee & Dame Margaret his wife, daughter to Sir Henry Wiat, that faithfull and Constant Servaunt & Counselour to the two Kings of famous Memory, Henries the 7<sup>th</sup> & eight. Hee owed his birth and Childhood to Kent and his highly Honourable Uncle Sir Thomas Wiat at Alington Castle, his Youthe to the Courte and Kinge Henry the eight, to whose service he was sworne at 14. Yeares olde, His prime of Manhood (after the calme of that blest Prince Edward the sixth) to the Warrs of Scotland in Queen Maries Daies, till called home by her whose soddeine Death gave beginninge to the Glorious Reigne of Queene Elizabeth he gave himself to Voiage and Travaile into the florishing States of France Itally & Germany, wher soone puttinge on all those Abbillities that become the backe of Honour, Especially Skill and Prooffe in Armes, He lived in Grace and Gracinge the Courtes of the most Renowmed princes of that Warlike Age, Returned home charged with the Reputation of a well formed Travailour & adorned with those flowers of Knighthood, Courtesie Bounty Valour, which quicklye gave forth their Fruicte, as well in the ffeilde to the Advantage (at once) of y<sup>e</sup> two divided parts of this happely united State and to both their Princes his Soveraignes Successively in that Expedition into Scotland the Yeare 1573, when in goodly Equipage he Repayred to the Siege at Edinburgh, their quarteringe before the castle and commanding one of the Batteries he shared largely in the Honour of Ravishinge that Maiden Forte, as also in Court wher he shone in all those fayre partes became his profession & Vowes, honouringe his highlye gracious M<sup>ris</sup> with Reysinge those later Olimpiads of her Coronation Justs and Tournaments (Therby Tryinge & Treininge the Courtier in those Exercises of Armes that keepe the Person bright & steeled to Hardinesse, That by





Softe Ease Rusts & Weares) wherein still himselfe lead and Triumphed, caryinge away the Spoyles of Grace from his Sovereaigne & Renowne from the Worlde for the fairest Man at Armes & most complete Courtier of his Times, till singled out by the choyce hand of his Sovereigne M<sup>rs</sup> for med of his Worth (after the Lieutenancy of the Royal Manour of Woodstocke & the Office of the Royal Armory) He was called up an Assessour on the Bench of Honour Emonge Princes & Peeres Receivinge at her Majesties hands the Noblest Order of the Garter, whilst the Worme of time knawinge the Root of this plant, yeildinge to y<sup>e</sup> Burden Age and the Industrie of an Active Youth imposed on him, full of the Glorie of the Courte, He abated of his Sence to pay his better parte, resigned his Dignity & honour of her Maj<sup>tes</sup> Knight to the Adventurous Compt George Earle of Cumberland, Chinginge pleasure for ease, for Tranquility honour, makinge Rest his Sollace & contemplation his Employment, so as absent from the Worlde present with himselfe he chose to loose the fruit of publique Use & Action for that of Devotion & piety, in which time (besides the buildinge of 4. goodly Mannors) he renued the Ruines of this Chappell, added these Monuments to honour his blood and Friends, Reised the foundation of the adjoininge Hospitall, & lastly as full of Yeares as of Honour, Havinge served five succeedinge princes and kept himself Reight & Steady in many dangerous Shokes & 3. utter Turnes of State, with a body bent to Earth & a mind erected to Heaven, Aged 80. Knighted 60. yeers, he mett his longe attended ende & now rests with his Redeemer leavinge much Patrimony with his Name, honour with the Worlde, & plentifull Teares with his Freinds. Of which Sacrifice he offers his part that beinge a Sharer in his blood as well as in many his honourable Favours and an honourer of his vertues thus narrowly Registreth his spread worth to ensuinge Times.

William Scott.

[*In the bottom of the frame.* Coat of Scott of Scott Hall, Kent, with motto, *Sustinendo pergo*. William Scott was the younger son of Charles Scott, and grandson of Sir Reginald Scott of Scott Hall, Kent. His mother was Jane, daughter of Sir Thomas Wyatt the younger. He sat for New Woodstock in the Parliament of 1601, witnessed Lee's will, although a legatee, and sent a man to his funeral (*Harl. Soc.* xlii. 127; *Official Return of M.P.s*; cf. p. 298.)



(2) *Anne Vavasour.*

On the west, at the foot of (1), a canopied monument, said to have held the effigy of a lady kneeling with an inscription (*Willis*).

Arms and crest of Vavasour  
of Copmanthorpe, Yorks.

Vnder this Stone intombed lies a faire & worthy Dame  
daughter to Henry Vauasor Anne Vauasour her name  
Shee liuing w<sup>th</sup> S<sup>r</sup> Henry Lee for loue long tyme did dwell  
Death Could not part them but that here they rest w<sup>th</sup>in one  
cell

This tombe is since erased & pulled downe: 1612 (*Charles*).

*On south side of Chancel.*

*Sir Anthony and Margaret Lady Lee.*

An altar monument of freestone painted black and white and embellished with gold, supported by two black pillars of the same stone (of Bethersden marble mended with freestone, *Lipscomb*) & black pilasters and facios at the top of white freestone (*Willis*).

On it a man in armour and on his sinister side a woman, both recumbent, their hands and eyes lifted up (*Willis*). Fragments of the figures, found in the garden of the Church Farm, are in Hartwell Church (*Bucks Records*, x. 181).

On the wall of the recess the coats of Lee, with crest but no Garter, and Wyatt.

Under this on a black (blue, *Lipscomb*) freestone tablet the inscription (*Charles, Willis*)—

Anthony Lee Knight of Worthie Name  
Syre to Sir Henry Lee of Noble Fame  
Sonne to Sir Robert Lee here buried lies  
Whereas his Fame and Memory never dies  
Great in the Fountaine whence himself did Rune  
But greater in the Greatnesse of his Sonne  
His bodye heere his Soule in Heaven doth Rest  
What scornde the Earth cannot with Earth be prest.

On two black tablets on the front of the monument the inscription (*Willis*)—





Margret thy Name a pretious Stone is hight  
 A Stone which heere Entombed Thou mayst well be  
 And pretious is this Stone to each mans Sight  
 Not in its self but that it holdeth Thee  
 Livinge you wast a Geme A pearle so bright  
 Now dead an Angell Shin'st in Heavenly light.

Ne little lustre to thy worth <doth> give  
 Worthy S<sup>r</sup> Henry Wiat thy good Sire  
 Ne yet in him alone thy Fame doth Lyve  
 Sire Henry Lee thy Sonne all States admire  
 Blest in Sir Anthony Lee thy Living Feere  
 W<sup>th</sup> whom Thou restest still entombed here.

[Charles omits this, and it may therefore have been added later than 1611. Lipscomb found it almost illegible. So did Willis, at first, in the second stanza. But he puzzled at it and finally (*MS.* 20) got it nearly right, although a persistent reading 'Worthy of' in l. 8 made him leave the penultimate word of l. 7 blank, and 'Feere' in l. 11 he read throughout 'Frere', although oddly enough he glossed it 'companion or mate'.]

Subscribed to the epitaph.

The Author w<sup>d</sup> have been concealed unworthy to be named  
 But w<sup>d</sup> not be Theophilus Tuer for what amiss be blamed.

[Tuer was of St. John's College, Oxford. Lee gave him the living of Fleetmarston in 1610 and left him a legacy. He made an earlier attempt at poetry with Latin verses in the Oxford *Funebre Officium in Memoriam Elizabethae* (1603).]

On the wall, above the monument, the Lee coat, without the Garter. This is preserved at Hartwell House.

*In the Nave.*

A large Marble upon which was 'an effigies & Inscription & at each Corner Arms which are torn off' (*Willis MS.* 4). Willis suggested that this was the tomb of John Farnham, a known benefactor of the chapel in the fourteenth century. But in *MS.* 20 he noted that the figure had been that of a woman. In the cellar of the Church Farm is the upper half of a slab of Purbeck stone, bearing the indents of a lady (c. 1500-25) and of two shields above. With it is another fragment, bearing the indent of a third shield. Another account gives the lady a pedimental head-dress, and notes four shields, and a foot



inscription (*Bucks Records*, x. 181). This may be the gravestone of Richard Lee's widow, from which Charles gives the inscription—

Here Lieth Buried vnder this Stone the body of Jane Clarke Late the wife of John Clark w<sup>ch</sup> departed out of this World The 19 day of October The yeare after the Incarnation of our Lord god .1516. on whose soule Jhesu haue mercy Amen, And for her Soule and all Christen Soules of your charity euery man that shall read this Scripture or heare it read say deuoutly a Pater noster & an Aue.

But Charles only tricks one coat, Clerk impaling for Lee *A fess between three leopard's faces*.

*In the South Aisle.*

A like ⟨large marble⟩ stone 'on which were sundry brasses and brass round the verge on which, may be conjectured, was the inscription', possibly the stone of Richard Lee (*Willis*). Charles has no inscription for this, but it may be a Purbeck marble slab, once the hearthstone of a cottage now pulled down, from which came a group of three daughters of c. 1535, wearing the 'Paris' head-dress, engraved as a palimpsest on the reverse of a brass of c. 1450. It has been suggested that these are the three daughters of Sir Robert Lee (*Bucks Records*, x. 181; H. Mill Stephenson, *Monumental Brasses*, 584).





## APPENDIX H

### THE DEPREDATIONS OF ANNE VAVASOUR

[1617, January 28. From *Reports of Masters in Chancery* (R.O. C. 38/25).]

Inter Henricū Lee milit et Barronett que Thoma' Vauasor milit et Barronett et Annā Finche als Vauasor def<sup>tes</sup>.

Accordinge to an order of the xiiij<sup>th</sup> of October laste Wee haue entred into the examinacon of this cause in the presence of the learned Counsell on both sides, and haue receaued a note from the pl: Counsell of such things as the pl: Complayneth to bee deteined from him by the def<sup>t</sup> Ann, and lefte owt of the Inuentary by her to bee deliuered to the pl: (accordinge to the testament or laste will of S<sup>r</sup> Henry Lee deceased and his explanacon thereof) within two moneths after the said testators decease. The particulers whereof are theise, firste certen Juells, then certen plate, certen housholdstuffe, certen lynnens, hanginges, Corne and other stuffe, remayninge at the death of the testator in his houses at Lelius in weedon, Lees reste and Spilsbury Of which plate, lynnens and housholdstuffe, the said S<sup>r</sup> Henry Lee the testators will and mynde was the said def<sup>t</sup> Ann should haue the vse and occupacon during her naturall life And first as concerninge the Juells (besides those which weare giuen and deliuered in the life tyme of the said S<sup>r</sup> Henry and in his presence by the said def<sup>t</sup> Ann vnto the Queenes Ma<sup>tie</sup> that nowe is, and whereunto the said pl: hath relinquished any further clayme) wee do finde the Juells insisted vppon to bee theise: First a Crosse of gold sett with dyamonds vallued by Joyce Bellamy onely at eight score poundes, but by Glanuild at one hundred poundes. A booke of gould vallued at fifteene poundes, A Juell called a Lynnett of gould vallued at thirteene pounds six shillings and eight pence, two pearles deposited of onely by Joyce Bellamy, and to haue coste One hundred poundes, three other Juells called the Queenes pickture, the Butterflye and the Aggat pawned by S<sup>r</sup> Rychard Lee for one hundred and twenty poundes and Redeemed by S<sup>r</sup> Henry Lee deceased for the same some. There is lykewise challenged one Juell with fiue dyamondes, and one ringe with one Dyamond, which was saide to haue been pawned by John



Lee to one Rudyard a gouldsmith for threescore poundes, and by him redeemed againe (as it is deposed by the said Rudyard) for the same mony, but wee finde no other prooffe whie theise two Juells should bee S<sup>r</sup> Henry Lees Juells deceased, then that S<sup>r</sup> Robert Lee the pl: Father deposeth that John Lee told him since S<sup>r</sup> Henries death that threescore poundes parte of one hundred poundes which was borrowed of one Horsey for the testators vse, for which the said John Lee stood bound (as himselfe said) was paid to the said Rudyard for the redeeminge of certen Juells of S<sup>r</sup> Henries deceased late before pawned to Rudyard, which the said John Lee did also sett vnder his hand and shewed the same to the said S<sup>r</sup> Robert a terme or two after the death of the said S<sup>r</sup> Henry and that the same Juells (not naminge what they weare) weare redeemed out of the said Rudyardes handes, in Michaellmas terme next before the death of the said S<sup>r</sup> Henry, as the said S<sup>r</sup> Robert did vnderstand by the speeches of the said John, and thinckes that the said Juells after they weare so redeemed, weare deliuered either to the testator or to the said def<sup>t</sup> Ann. The which howe farr it will perswade this Courte they weare S<sup>r</sup> Henries and weare in the said def<sup>t</sup> Anns Custodie at the tyme of his death wee leaue it to the wisdome of this Court. Rudyard himselfe to whome they weare pawned not knowing whose Juells they weare. And as Concerninge the reste of the Juells before named wee do not finde by the will or the declaracon thereof, that any Juells weare to be put into the Inuentary which the said def<sup>t</sup> Ann was to deliuer vnto the pl: and therefore cannot charge the said def<sup>t</sup> therewith as omitted owt of the Inuentary. Howbeit wee do conceaue that the same do belonge vnto the pl: in case they weare the said testators at the tyme of his death. The profes and probabilities concerninge the foresaid Juells (exceptinge the said Juells with fife Dyemondes and the ringe with one dyamond) wee finde them to bee theise. That the said testator in his life tyme was held to bee possessed and owner of the said Juells and that euery of them weare of the vallue as is before expressed, but wee finde no punctuall prooffe that all the said Juells continued his vntill the tyme of his death, onely wee find it deposed that the said def<sup>t</sup> Ann for many yeares before his death was the Keeper of all the said testators Juells and kept them vntill his death, hauinge the keepinge of the blacke box





wherein they weare which stood continually in or neere the testators bedchamber. And though wee do not finde that the def<sup>ts</sup> haue made any prooffe in the bookes that euer S<sup>r</sup> Henry disposed of any of theise pticulers in his life tyme exceptinge certen ringes which hee gaue awaie a little before his death, yet wee finde it proued that the said def<sup>t</sup> Ann diuers tymes in the life tyme of the testator vsed and did weare diuers of the testators said Juells as her owne. And therefore wee humbly leaue it vnto the Judgment of this Court whether the said def<sup>t</sup> Ann shalbe charged to deliuer the same or the vallue thereof vnto the pl. Wee finde theise parcells of plate heereafter described to bee challenged by the pl: to bee omitted owt of the said Inuentary, and yet wee finde it proued that the same weare reputed taken and vsed as the plate of S<sup>r</sup> Henry Lee deceased at his death and a little before his death. Viz<sup>t</sup> A newe voyder or charger of siluer, a little siluer pot with two eares called a little conscience, A little siluer pot with three feete, a siluer porringer with one eare, two sallet dishes of siluer, one little siluer spoone, a iugg tipt with siluer on the mouth and foote, a little siluer boate, a suger box of siluer, a little siluer bole, and a nuttmegg pott dressed and couered with siluer, which all are omitted owt of the note of the plate deliuered vnto the pl: vnder the hand of the said def<sup>t</sup> Ann. Howbeit wee finde it deposed that the said voyder was newly made a little before the testators death of certen plate giuen by the said testator vnto Thomas the sonn of the said Ann at his Christninge, and that the said Thomas did challenge the said voyder at the tyme of the diuision of the said testators plate between the pl. and the said Ann. And that the said voyder was then deliuered to the said Thomas in the presence and with the consent of the said Compl<sup>t</sup>. And wee further finde it deposed by Alice Teate and Magdalen Cole that the said def<sup>t</sup> Ann had of her owne propper goodes sundry such parcells of plate as are before described viz<sup>t</sup> a Colledge pott, two siluer pottes called Cruces lips and tipt with siluer, a suger box with a spoone in it, a siluer porrenger and a spoone, a caudle cupp of siluer and a spoone, and a siluer bowle, boates of siluer and certen siluer dishes, but whether theise or any of theise bee the same which are challenged by the pl: to bee omitted, or others of lyke forme and name, the proofes do not



plainely shewe. Neether do wee finde by any of the witnesses the vallue or the waight of any of the said parcells at all deposed of. Nowe touchinge the Lynnen goodes and houshould-stuffe at Lees rest, Lelius, and Spilsbury complayned to bee lefte owt of the Inuentary wee finde First the perticulers complayned of at Lees reste to be theise a wainscot cheste full of diaper and damaske, a truncke full of fyne holland sheetes, a truncke full of huswiues cloth, a truncke bound with iron full of little towells and pillowbeers some wrought with gould some with silke and some with siluer and tenn webbs of huswiues cloth and certen boulttes of Lynnen Cloth sent out of the Lowe Countries from S<sup>r</sup> Edward Veare to the said testator remayninge at Lees rest at the tyme of his death. The proofes whereof wee finde theise First the pl: proueth by Ann Gad that the wainscot Cheste the trunckes of Lynnen and Houswiues cloth aboue menconed weare at Lees reste at the tyme of S<sup>r</sup> Henries death and that the Lynnens contained in the Cheste and truncke weare worth in her Judgment two hundred poundes but shee deposeth not to whome they did belonge. Mary Morris deposeth that shee knewe greate store of wrought Lynnens with gould and siluer and so laced vsed at Lees reste at the Kinges laste beeing there before S<sup>r</sup> Henries death and that a greate wainscot cheste of dyaper and damaske was kept in M<sup>ris</sup> Vauasors closset in Lees reste within halfe a yeare before S<sup>r</sup> Henries death, but shee vallueth them not nor speaketh to whome they belonge. Bennett Willson deposeth of the square box bound with iron full of Lynnen wrought with gould silke and siluer and laced with gould and siluer lace all which stuffe was bought by S<sup>r</sup> Henries direcon, payd for with his mony and that the testator kepte them that wrought them and vsed to haue them from Dichley to Lees reste when hee remoued, the vallue, worth two hundred markes, and so much he would giue for it, and deposeth of huswiues cloth bought by himselfe at Darby market with S<sup>r</sup> Henries mony about a yeare before his death, but doth not depose that they weare at Lees reste at the death of the testator. Joyce Lee deposeth that she knewe the truncke of fyne Lynnens richly wrought with gould and silluer, and laced with gould and siluer lace remayninge at Lees reste at the tyme of the testators death and deposeth lykewise of the huswiues cloth bought by







Bennett Willson but vallueth neither of them but deposeth not where the said huswiues cloth was at the testators decease. Joyce Lee further deposeth that about fower yeares before her examinacon the testator sent certen mony into the Lowe Cuntries to S<sup>r</sup> Edward Veare to buy Lynnen for the better furnishinge of Burston house, and that thre or fower bundles of Lynnen cloth weare sent by the said S<sup>r</sup> Edward Veare to the said testator the greateste parte of which Lynnen cloth shee beleeueth remayned at Lees reste at the tyme of the said S<sup>r</sup> Henries decease, but neither speaketh of the quantety of the mony sent nor of the vallue of the Lynnen. To all this prooffe wee finde nothinge offered to the contrary saue onely wee finde it deposed by Thomas Jones and Thomas Rawlins that M<sup>ris</sup> Vauasor in the life tyme of the said S<sup>r</sup> Henry the testator when the Inuentary of his goodes was makinge challenged a cheste and certen trunckes with Lynnen in them belonginge vnto her in the presence of the said S<sup>r</sup> Henry whereunto the said testator then assented and which seuerall parcells wee finde to bee lefte owt of the Inuentary shewed vnto vs of the goodes and housholdstuffe at Lees reste. For the Lynnen at Spilsbury wee finde it deposed directly onely by Margery Cowley whoe had the Custodie of the Lynnen there, that there weare at the death of the said S<sup>r</sup> Henry two and twenty payre of hempen and flexen sheetes, two pare of holland sheetes, tenn payre of pillowbeeres, eight cupbord clothes, two longe diaper clothes, six diaper napkins, one diaper cupbord cloth, thirteene table clothes three of them for the Hall, fowerteene towells longe and shorte, eight dozen of napkins some of them old and ouerworne, besides seuentecne beddes there furnisht with Lynnen at the tyme of his death, owt of which fower of the sheetes and certen of the napkins weare taken to make seare clothes for the body of the said testator but shee vallueth not the said Lynnen. Other witnesses there bee that depose in a generallty that the said house was well furnisht with Lynnen of all sortes at the tyme of his death and that there weare then lodged thirty persons theare. All which perticulers are omitted owt of the Inuentary shewed to vs by the pl<sup>i</sup>. Moreouer wee finde Lynnen belonginge to his person not to be menconed in the Inuentary viz<sup>t</sup> Ann Gad whoe onely speaketh thereof deposeth of six paire of course holland sheetes, three sweete bagges, one of



them wrought with gould and pearle thought to bee worth one hundred markes, the other two of taffety edged about with gould lace, and hauinge greate braunches of gould worke in the midst of them and weare comonly vsed about the person of the said S<sup>r</sup> Henry deceased, eight payre of old pillowbeers, twelue handkerchers, twelue shirtes and eight new holland kerchers of all which sauinge the sweete bagg shee setteth downe no vallue, neither declareth at what house they weare at the tyme of his death, but it should seeme they weare at Spilsbury house at the tyme of his death for that it is deposed by Margery Cowley there weare two other trunckes one of them in the keepinge of the said Ann Gad, and the other in the keepinge of the said M<sup>ris</sup> Vauasor, in one of which shee thincketh was the Lynnen belonginge to the bed and body of the said S<sup>r</sup> Henry. For hanginges of Tapestry and Arras and other stuffe which are complayned by the pl: to haue bynn lefte owt of the Inuentary of Lelius which by the will of the testator the def<sup>t</sup> was to deliuer vnto the Comp<sup>lt</sup>, wee finde by the deposicon of Bennitt Harris onlely thereuppon, that there weare thirty two peeces of hanginges little and greate in Lelius house at the tyme of the said testators decease, whereof most weare of Tapestry and some of Arras with Silke in them but wee finde onely six and twenty hanginges of Tapestry and Arras Inuentaried by the def<sup>t</sup>. Beside wee finde in the Inuentary of Lelius seauen payre of sheetes onely and yet it is deposed by the said Bennet Harris there weare Eleauen payre, so there wanteth of that number fower payre of sheetes. Further wee finde there are but onely nyneteene fetherbedes Inuentaried there whereof one is Downe, and wee finde it deposed by the said Bennet Harris that there weare twenty at the tyme of the testators decease, so there is one featherbed wantinge of that number. Touchinge the Queenes pickture though it bee not directly deposed at what house the same was at the testators death, yet Rychard Nashe deposeth that by M<sup>ris</sup> Finches direcon it was carried vnto Kingston after S<sup>r</sup> Henries death, and is not mentioned in the Inuentary of any of those houses. And as touchinge the Corne at Spilsbury wee finde it deposed that there was some lyttle Corne in the barne there, and some winter Corne in the ground, but whether it came to M<sup>ris</sup> Finches handes or not is not otherwise proued then by one







John Clarke whoe speaketh onely vppon the relacon of Raphe Sherley that the said Corne was sould to the said def<sup>t</sup> Anns vse, the vallue of all the Corne as the said Clarke deposeth vppon the relation onely of one Teate and Newman beeing about forty poundes. To which it is onely affirmed on the Def<sup>ts</sup> behalfe that the Corne in the barne was spent in the houshold presently after the death of the testator. And whereás there are also demaunded certen hanginges and other stuffe of the said S<sup>r</sup> Henry Lees deceased conuayed to the Hage Thomas Pue late seruant to S<sup>r</sup> Edward Veare deposeth that certen hanginges of the said S<sup>r</sup> Henrie Lees deceased of the vallue of threescore poundes and certen bedds and other stuffe to the vallue of thirty poundes in toto nynety poundes weare conuayed by water in a barge to Grauesend and there shipt, and from there conuayed to the house of S<sup>r</sup> Edward Veare at Dunhage but doth not depose whoe sent them or from which of the foresaid three houses they weare sent neither howe many peeces of hanginges there weare. So that wee knowe not by the deposicon whether they weare to be Inuentaried or not, vnles they weare the six peeces residue of the thirty two peeces of tapestrie and Arras which are deposed to bee wantinge in the Inuentary of Lelius. This beeing the state of the prooffe made on both partes in the bookes, and the Inuentary of the goodes vnto vs shewed not beeing acknowledged to bee that which was by or on the def<sup>ts</sup> behalfe deliuered vnto the pl. after the death of the testator S<sup>r</sup> Henry, or at the leaste not to bee in that plight or state as it was when it was first deliuered to the pl. and no other prooffe beeing shewed that it was the same then onely the affidauit of the pl: made after publicacon of the witnesses in this cause. Wee haue thought fitt humbly to certefie what wee finde the proofes and probabilities to bee, Leauinge the same to bee Judged of by this ho<sup>b1</sup> Court

Tho Ridley  
W: Byrde.



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